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U.S. PLANS TO HOLD ANTISATELLITE WEAPONS TALKS

LD010933 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] According to reports from Washington, President Reagan has signed a report to Congress saying that the American Administration intends to conduct talks with the Soviet Union on antisatellite weapons systems.

As is known, the current administration is heading for the militarization of outer space. The report, which will be tabled on Monday, was caused by opposition to these plans in Congress. The Pentagon has already tested an antisatellite air system based on F-15 fighter aircraft. Another test is due soon.

The United States' actions violate a treaty on antimissile systems signed with the Soviet Union in 1972.

BOGACHEV ON CHANCE OF U.S. RENEGING ON SALT

LD301548 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS -- TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

The present U.S. Administration, which in its three years in office has failed to sign a single agreement limiting the arms race, reneged on some of the existing agreements to reduce the threat of a nuclear war, and frustrated a series of talks on arms reductions, is now about to add to its record of the "subverter of international treaties".

The State Department has announced Washington's intention to give "careful consideration" to the question of the U.S. giving up observance of the Soviet-American agreement on limiting the strategic arms.

As is known, in 1972 the USSR and the USA signed a treaty to "freeze" the aggregate number of their intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) and the submarine-based ballistic missiles. In 1977 both the Soviet and the American sides stated their readiness to abide by the limitations imposed by the treaty even after its expiry.

The year 1979 saw the signing of the Soviet-American SALT-2 treaty imposing limits on both sides' aggregate quantities of not only the ICBM's and the submarine-based ballistic missiles, but also the strategic bombers. The treaty provided, inter alia, for the limitations on the numbers of MIRVED strategic missiles.

And although the USA has not ratified the SALT-2 treaty, President Ronald Reagan solemnly proclaimed in 1982 that on the existing agreements on strategic arms the administration would abstain from actions capable of undermining them for as long as the Soviet Union shows similar restraint.

It ought to be pointed out that in 1982, too, there were very grave doubts about the sincerity of this statement by the U.S. President. The U.S. Undersecretary of Defence Fred Ikle made the plain statement that Washington would continue raising the issue of abrogating particular international agreements if they are found to be a hinderance to implementing the plans for deploying such U.S. nuclear systems as the intercontinental ballistic missiles "MX" or the "Trident" missile-carrying submarines.

It is now clear that, in his unguarded moment, Fred Ikle gave a very precise description of Washington's approaches to the observance of international treaties, while President Reagan in 1982 was engaging in just another of his propaganda shows to deceive the world public.

At present, when the United States is stepping up the rates of commissioning the new "Trident" submarines with each carrying 24 ballistic nuclear missiles, the State Department appears to have concluded that, no matter how hard it tries, it will not be able to hide next year the pre-planned violation by the American side of the limit on the aggregate number of ballistic missiles provided for under the SALT-1 treaty, and of the "ceiling" on the quantity of mirved missiles, imposed by SALT-2.

The "Trident" submarines are systems too big to try to deny their existence or belittle their quantity. It is probably for this reason that Washington has again begun talking openly about reneging on the existing agreements on strategic arms limitations.

BEGLOV: U.S. USING GENEVA AS SCREEN FOR BUILDUP

LD310120 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] There have been more speculations in the Western press about signs of an allegedly serious dialogue underway between Moscow and Washington at various levels. Our commentary has been prepared by Spartak Beglov of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY:

If the two sides want a serious dialogue, each must prove its intentions to be serious. The United States' intentions are not, which is regrettable. The Soviet Union has reaffirmed that a dialogue can be held only if the principle of equality and equal security is followed. This implies a United States' renunciation of the deployment of a new generation of nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Returning to the situation that existed before the deployment would make valid again all the Soviet proposals on limiting and reducing medium-range nuclear weapons and it would no longer be necessary for the Warsaw Treaty nations to counter the positioning of new American weapons.

The United States, however, has not shown a readiness for reconsidering its position. It needs the Geneva talks only as a screen for building up nuclear armaments in Europe. If we discuss a serious dialogue between the USSR and the United States, the Soviet Union has put forward many concrete proposals. It suggested preventing the militarization of outer space, freezing nuclear armaments globally, resuming talks on general and complete banning of nuclear weapon tests, and adopting a code of behavior by the nuclear powers to bring down to a minimum the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

The reaction of the United States Administration towards this is anything but reassuring. Rather the opposite is true. The White House is speeding the developing of space weaponry systems and more American missiles are arriving in Western Europe. In these conditions, Washington's claims to a readiness for negotiations are empty talk.

KIRKPATRICK CITED ON U.S. APPROACH TO DETENTE

PM020904 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 84 Morning Edition p 4

[D. Velikiy commentary under the rubric "Commentary on a News Report": "Reckless Obstinacy"]

[Text] The U.S. Administration considers that the ideas of detente no longer provide a suitable basis for the conduct of policy toward the Soviet Union. This was declared by Jeane Kirkpatrick, permanent U.S. representative at the United Nations, in an interview for the Austrian magazine PROFIL.

Trying to justify the R. Reagan administration's refusal to continue the policy of detente, J. Kirkpatrick attributes to the Soviet Union the desire to attain military superiority over the United States and NATO at a time when they "have restricted the development and production of weapons." Well, the novelty of this "accusation" is equal to its veracity. From this viewpoint, J. Kirkpatrick's statement may not have been worth any special attention had it not been for the frankness with which she explained the transatlantic approach to detente and, at the same time, the true reasons why the present administration has torpedoed it.

Here they are: "One of the principles of detente theory was the premise that the East would find itself economically dependent on the West as a result of strengthening ties, and primarily economic ones," the U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations declared. Since this did not materialize, in her view the United States was not obliged to follow the policy of detente. In other words any policy which fails to bring about the East's dependence on the West is unsuitable for the United States and NATO -- this is the meaning of the claims by Kirkpatrick and the U.S. Administration.

In her interview, J. Kirpatrick also views from the very same positions the talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, which are incompatible with the goals pursued by the United States -- in other words the achievement of unilateral military superiority.

It is expedient to recall at this point that J. Kirkpatrick, according to press reports, has played an active part in elaborating a completely different doctrine -- an aggressive doctrine. I refer to a document drawn up 2 years ago that underlies the U.S. interventionist policy toward developing and nonaligned countries. It proves the necessity to conduct a package of subversive and terrorist U.S. actions in the Indian Ocean, Central and South America, and the Near East.

It was this policy that blessed the U.S. military's aggression in Grenada, brought U.S. naval ships to the Lebanese coast, and is encouraging terrorist intrigues close to the borders of Nicaragua and El Salvador...

The interventionist doctrine elaborated with J. Kirkpatrick's involvement is far from being the only one of its kind. According to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the R. Reagan government is working on a so-called "targets menu." According to reports, it is planned to include Syria, Lebanon, and other countries in the list of targets for its aggressive foreign policy. Overt and covert economic and political actions are planned against those included on the "menu."

R. Reagan's administration continues to follow a course diametrically opposed to detente. Evidence of this is provided, as we can see, both by its plans and by the statements made by its spokesmen, especially J. Kirpatrick.

ZUBKOV URGES RETURN TO DETENTE, DISARMAMENT

LD212052 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 31 Mar 84

[From the Vremya newscast; talk by political observer Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] The USSR believes that there are no problems, be they in Europe, Africa, or in any part of the world, that cannot be settled at the negotiating table. Such is the leitmotive of responses from the world public to the speech by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko at the Kremlin luncheon in honour of Mengistu Haile Mariam, to the reply of the Soviet leader to the message from the Assisi municipality delegation and representatives of the Franciscan order. Here is political observer Georgiy Zubkov:

[Begin Zubkov video recording] Hello, comrades! Not a single opportunity or a single chance should be missed to return to the path of talks. This was said in the reply by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko to the message from the delegation of the municipality of the Italian town of Assisi and representatives of the Franciscan order. I heard the text of this reply with a group of Western journalists at the Moscow press center of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Well, one of the journalists said, the Soviet Union is in favor of talks and the United States is prepared for their resumption. This means that the matter is dependent on formalities of some sort. It might have been possible to fail to recollect this retort, but to me it reflects aspects of propaganda in the West that are characteristic of the present situation -- both the attempt to divert the responsibility for the breakdown of talks from the U.S. Administration and the creation of the outward appearance that the beginning of deployment in Western Europe of U.S. nuclear missiles has not entailed serious complications.

They say one way or another conversations are being conducted about a return to Geneva. No, it is not so. The essence lies not in formalities of some sort, but in the principled approach to the matter. Yes, the Soviet Union favors a continuation of talks, but of honest, constructive talks and not those that would appear to be a screen for a further arms race. If the talks are to resume, the United States must remove the obstacles they created by beginning to deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Unfortunately, so far the facts indicate the reverse. In Britain, as we know, the first 16 cruise missiles have been made operational and exercises are being conducted with them. In the FRG, nine Pershings have been installed, and it was announced recently that the 16 cruise missiles on the Italian island of Sicily are ready for action, too.

The unchanging nature of the U.S. policy is also confirmed by the present trip to Europe by Defense Secretary Weinberger and his talks in The Hague. He insisted that the Netherlands Government make a decision very quickly on the deployment of U.S. missiles. So far Belgium and Holland have not given official consent.

The reply by Comrade Chernenko says that the present situation can be rectified. The way to this is not easy, but it is manifest -- to renounce confrontation and get firmly on the path of detente, cooperation and peaceful coexistence, and to begin radically reducing arms on the principles of equality and equal security. [end video recording]

FALIN STRESSES NEED FOR WISDOM, NOT MILITARISM

PM301416 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 84 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA political observer Valentin Falin article: "A Sad Irony"]

[Excerpts] "This is the irony of the arms race: Sometimes the weapons that most threaten U.S. security turn out to have been invented by the United States itself," THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote in an editorial. What the newspaper had in mind specifically was the reequipping of missiles with multiple independently targeted warheads (the English abbreviation is MIRV), which has increases many times over the destructive potential of weapons that were already terrible and has naturally not added stability to the situation.

The Soviet side at one time invested considerable effort in attempts to persuade Washington to refrain from going over to MIRV technology. But the logic of common sense can hardly be expected to break down the wall of arrogance!

Dreaming or waking, the Americans never even admitted the idea that the USSR would be able to create its own version of this complex system or that the lead achieved by the United States would soon disappear like a mirage and the idiocy thus prepetrated would have to be paid for at the expense of their own security. **True,** perhaps it did not amount to arrogance alone.

As is known, the Soviet Union did not deploy its own systems with equivalent technical characteristics close to U.S. territory prior to the movement of the new American missiles into Western Europe. Now the situation is changing, and in some respects it is changing more for the United States than for us. Why more? Because even before the appearance of the "Pershings" and cruise missiles in Europe, there were already several hundred units of American forward-based nuclear weaponry here. They may not have had the characteristics of first-strike systems in a pronounced form, but they were not deployed here in order to make life easier for the socialist states. Moreover a section of the U.S. strategic forces was constantly on duty in the European sea areas, using bases in foreign states. The American potential was and is supplemented by the British and French nuclear systems and the systems under so-called dual command, which belong formally to, say, the FRG, but are really at the disposal of the NATO commander in chief.

From now on, until such time as appropriate agreements are elaborated between the USSR and the United States on the basis of equality and identical security, the Americans will have to learn how uncomfortable it feels to exist under the shadow of missiles with a flight time of 6-8 minutes.

Let us note an objective fact: In its militarist fever Washington has sacrificed one of the NATO bloc's most important advantages -- a temporary one, perhaps, but real. Let us go further.

The Soviet Union has hitherto deployed medium-range systems exclusively on its own national territory. It has also refrained from siting enhanced-range operational-tactical missiles outside its own borders. And that is changing now. The American monoploy of so-called "forward defense" is coming to an end.

To parry the threat from the "Pershings" and cruise missiles, the USSR, by agreement with its allies, has placed some new types of operational-tactical weapons at positions in the GDR and the CSSR. It is doubtful whether the American trooops in Western Europe or -- most important -- those Europeans who go along with the U.S. militarist plans feel any more comfortable as a result. The assertion that nothing has changed for NATO has been put into circulation as a blind. It is necessary to prove at all costs that with "Pershings" you can sleep more soundly and with cruise missiles you can walk more confidently. Once they have quelled the wave of indignation at Western Europe's transformation into a launchpad for first-strike weapons, they will set about frightening people with the "newly identified" miraculous properties of the new Soviet missiles and demanding yet another "arms upgrading" for the Atlantic bloc. The scenario for the next show has long since been written, the roles have been distributed, and the prompters have climbed into their boxes and are waiting for the signal.

And that is not all. Throughout the ages demagoguery has been, if not the sister of deception, at least its godmother. There is no militarist act which Washington has not tried, in the past or at present, to deck in peaceful garb. The continents, seas, and oceans are not enough for it. The American military-industrial complex has its eye on space. But, R. Reagan innocently inquires, what is wrong with states competing to create defensive types of weapons?

A "detail" which seems to be lost along the way is that the militarization of space is not a substitute for programs to build up U.S. strike forces. The President promises to close America's skies tightly against enemy missiles and planes. Not for the sake of the U.S. people's peace of mind, but to make it easier for the Washington bosses to seek, find, and defend the monopolies' "vital interests" wherever and whenever they take it into their heads. The well-known American military expert R. Garwin, being well-informed about the details of the American rulers' way of thinking, warns that "the combination of offensive weapons with the prospect of your own 100-percent defense will lead inevitably to war."

People of the older generation will remember how Goering bragged that he would draw a screen over the sky over Hilter's Reich and open up the sky and the veins of England. Everyone knows what came of that. But the realization of the difference between ravings and reality took nearly 6 years to arrive, and cost the peoples infinitely dear.

The only strange thing is that the West European governments seem to be ready to follow Washington here. Their attempts to do mischief on earth have come to nothing. So have they now decided to try conquering socialism through space? It is space that they are promising to make into the turning point, that they are generously granting to history. A last chance. All or nothing. So chase the billions, the tens and hundreds of billions. And the imperialist figures are apparently ignorant of the fact that other people were not born yesterday and will find ways of playing a requiem for these uncounted billions. And that will not be irony, but merciless sarcasm.

Everyone must do what his conscience dictates. But there are roles that must not be played badly. Regardless of conscience. And not only in the theater. It applies still more to politics, to the role of president, premier, or commander in chief. So would it perhaps be better not to start a new self-deception or settle down calmly in the old one? Today the sign of political courage is not sharp words of the determination to indulge in saber-rattling or in technological fantasies with a military bias, but caution and wisdom. Particularly in a difficult, complicated situation. Nobody with a grain of common sense will censure you for wisdom.

WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE'

Situation in Africa Discussed

LD012021 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 1 Apr 84

["International Observers Roundtable" program, with political observers Aleksander Yevgenyevich Bovin and Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, and All-Union Radio commentator Viktor Nikolayevich Levin]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, respected comrade listeners. This week is rich in major international events of fundamental significance. First, I would like to deal with the visit to the Soviet Union by the leaders of socialist Ethiopia, with Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam at their head.

This visit is noteworthy in many respects. First, it confirms our unfailing friendship and cooperation with that country, which only comparatively recently acquired genuine freedom and which now, under difficult conditions, is building a new life. Second, it confirms our position in relation to countries occupying positions of nonalignment. And third, it is a very important aspect of our support for peoples struggling for their just cause, and this support is, incidentally, a necessary and important direction of the struggle for peace. In connection with the visit, attention was also given to all African problems, which are fairly acute.

[Bovin] I would first like to say a few words about Ethiopia. We have seen a whole spectrum of states with a socialist orientation, but it can hardly be thought that some sort of common plan or version of development has been found which in every case will provide 100 percent success. In every specific instance, including Ethiopia, it is the building of a new society on the base of colossal backwardness; in many ways it is a creative, experimental, pioneering process. And it is accompanied by a whole series of complications, primarily economic and social. These complications cause certain clashes in society. We know inter alia that detachments of rebel groups are still operating in Ethiopia in various provinces. In addition, of course, there are issues like Eritrea, where over a period of many, many years, Eritrean separatists have been fighting with sporadic success for the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia. So, of course, it is difficult now for our friends there. We are helping them as best we can, both with materials and machinery. We are (?trying) to send personnel there. But you all know from history, comrades, that the basis for (?bases) is one's own work. Well, it needs some additions to this, of course, and the talks held in Moscow once again particularly stressed that we are always ready to help our friends solve the complex problems they are encountering.

[Shishlin] You were right, Viktor Nikolayevich, to mention that this visit and the Moscow talks with our Ethiopian comrades must be viewed in the context of the Soviet position in relation to African affairs, and in the context of the Soviet position in relation to the Nonaligned Movement. This is one of the major directions of Soviet foreign policy; namely the development and strengthening of cooperation with the Nonaligned Movement, which is, of course, already an influential force in international politics. But on the level of African affairs, I think that anyone who can read, and can reflect on what he has read, understands that the Soviet Union is not pursuing any selfish interests, whether in relation to Ethiopia or in relation to Africa as a whole.

The Soviet Union -- incidentally, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko talked about this during the reception in honor of the eminent Ethiopian guests -- the only principle it really holds dear, as far as Africa is concerned, is that the right of the African peoples to free, sovereign development should be respected.

And in this respect, the situation in southern Africa is typical. It is not simple; it is a complex situation, of course. And I think our listeners know that both the Governments of Angola and Mozambique have held talks with the RSA [Republic of South Africa] regime, and that to a certain extent the Americans took part in those talks in some unspecified role, perhaps as mediator, perhaps as a direct participant. The Mozambicans in particular have concluded a certain agreement with the RSA regime, while Angola reached accord on the withdrawal of South African troops from its territory.

[Bovin] Today, because of a whole complex of various conditions, the RSA finds it profitable to play the role of a peace-loving power extending this olive branch. If one proceeds from the theory that this olive branch will always exist, then Angola and Mozambique probably acted rightly in concluding this agreement. But there is absolutely no assurance of this. I will quote one simple example: Let us say an agreement on nonaggression has been concluded with Mozambique, and accord is being reached with Angola. What about the RSA military budget? Yesterday it was reported that next year the RSA military budget will be increased by 21.4 percent -- in effect by a fifth. One asks oneself for what reason if there is a situation of peaceful coexistence coming into being.

[Levin] Speaking of this, Aleksander Yevgenyevich, the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola is being delayed in contradiction to the previously planned timetable.

[Bovin] Yes, because there is another aspect to this. Of course, the RSA has crossed itself and sworn that it is in favor of independence for Namibia, but as soon as the matter begins to assume, even in the very slightest way, a specific form, it retracts, because this idea of a conference comprising Angola, the RSA, SWAPO [Southwest Africa Peoples Organization], UNITA [National Union for Total Independence of Angola] and the Namibian puppet parties, which was proposed by the RSA, is clearly designed to break it apart, because it is clear that Angola and SWAPO will never agree to it. There you have it. And knowing this in advance, they still made such a proposal.

I must say that the attitude of Africa to these agreements is interesting. I would put it like this: The attitude is restrainedly positive, but with much more emphasis on the word restrainedly. Let's say, if we talk about the Organization of African Unity, it is interesting that when the first draft document on southern Africa was adopted, it contained a point about full support for the treaties, and said: We understand the striving of Mozambique and Angola to defend their sovereignty and independence. There, in the final analysis, you have the formula.

[Shishlin] But we find an even more cautious attitude from the so-called frontline states, which, of course, have the right to have doubts concerning the intentions of Pretoria, the intentions of the Republic of South Africa, and correspondingly, the intentions of the United States, which without doubt have big economic interests both in Namibia and the RSA. About a month-and-a-half ago, there was a sort of programmatic speech by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz on Africa, where he said -- in black and white, as they say -- how significant U.S. economic interests are in relation to Africa: its underground resources, its riches. American policy is being correspondingly drawn there, and it has by no means played an inconsequential part in all these things which we are now discussing.

[Bovin] Irrespective of events taking place there, the Soviet Union is on the side of Angola and Mozambique in their struggle against colonialism and racism, and on the side of the patriots of Namibia and the RSA struggling against racism and apartheid. This is our unchanging position, and it remains so. In the given situation, there is reason to stress this.

[Shishlin] The visit of the Ethiopian comrades vividly affirms the authoritative statements made by the Soviet side in relation to our support for the struggle of the peoples of Africa for freedom and independence, for strengthening self-reliance, and for strengthening independence. It is not just a declaration: It is affirmed by the purely practical relations of the Soviet Union. As Aleksander Yevgenyevich has just said, we are giving as much help as we can in the most varied areas, naturally striving first and foremost to help the African peoples to take into their own hands the key factors of their own economy, in their own administration, and to help them to reorganize life themselves on such foundations as would ensure the growth of the people's well-being.

[Levin] Now this is precisely the Soviet Union's principled line; that of supporting the struggle of freedom-loving peoples and advocating the resolving of pressing problems by political means. Emphasis was given to this in Comrade Chernenko's speech at the reception in honor of the Ethiopian delegation. Confirmation of this line may be found in literally all regions of the globe.

However, the main and priority course of the Soviet Union's foreign policy has always been, and as is known, remains to strengthen and develop relations with the socialist states. This week, talks were held in Moscow between the ministers of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union and Mongolia, Comrades Gromyko and Dugersuren. International problems on the broadest level were discussed at these talks, but attention was quite naturally focused primarily upon matters concerning Asia. These matters are now attracting no little attention because of the fact that in this region we see the persistent efforts of the United States to heat up the situation, to intensify its military presence and deploy new types of armaments and additional armed forces there. The trend toward the intensified militarization of Japan is very closely connected, I would even say fastened to, this American policy.

Increasing Japanese Militarism

Japan is increasing its military budget and increasing its armaments, and in general, a certain delimitation of the spheres of operation of the American Armed Forces and the Japanese armed forces in the Pacific Ocean basin and the Far East and Southeast Asia region is starting to take shape.

[Shishlin] This is prabably the case, but all the same there should be some limiting factors. The United States, of course, conducts a global policy and a military policy in this zone. Japan conducts a global policy, certainly on the economic level, while where the purely military sphere is concerned, one may speak of a sort of expansion in the zone of Japanese operations in this respect.

[Levin] Quite true.

[Shishlin] As for the increase in armaments in Japan, one must be precise This is being carried out around one figure. According to the Japanese laws, Japan does not have the right -- according to Japan's own law, that is -- to expend more than 1 percent of the gross national product for military purposes. A number of maneuvers and battles are currently taking place regarding this very figure of 1 percent. It seems as though the present Japanese Government considers that this limit can be exceeded. Japanese brasshats are talking about this particularly vigorously; and American brasshats are talking about it even more energetically. Nakasone, the present Japanese premier, who was also a military man in his time, also seems inclined toward this.

[Bovin] Now there is one detail here which we unfortunately do not always notice of at the moment.

The fact is that Nakasone is a Japanese nationalist, the sort of natural Japanese militarist who derives no pleasure from having American troops in Japan. He understands perfectly that Japan needs the help of the Americans to turn the Self-Defense Forces into a real, 100-percent army; to equip it with modern arms, and turn Japan into as great a military-political power as it is an economic one. That is the small point I wished to make in our conversation.

Japan, PRC Ties Noted

[Levin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, you mentioned Japan's economic expansion on a global scale. This is indeed a problem which is today occupying absolutely the whole of the Western world. A great deal is said about this in the United States, in Western Europe and the Common Market countries in particular, as the Japanese economic expansion is making itself felt. It is not from this angle, however, from the Japanese point of view, that Nakasone's visit to China should be regarded?

[Shishlin] Firstly, I did not use the term expansion.

[Bovin] Yes, that is laying it on a bit thick.

[Shishlin] I would not use such a term. If a country produces goods which are in demand, why should they not be sold on any market. So this is another matter. Japan's economic weight is quite simply very considerable, of course. The fact that Nakasone's visit to China took place, and that China received Nakasone very warmly and cordially and even with emphasized general external trappings, can, I think, all be understood to a certain degree. Theirs is a strange and somewhat complicated and difficult history, with difficult mutual relations and, as they say, God grant that there may be good mutual relations between China and Japan, just as between all other countries existing on our planet. I say that good relations between China and Japan are all to the good. It is important that these relations should be built up, taking into account the national interests of both Japan and the interests of the security of the Pacific Ocean basin and the Far East zone, within the framework of the entire Asiatic region and international security as a whole. I think that our big socialist neighbors in China and the Japanese leaders have something to think about in this respect, for after all, just as good relations between Japan and China correspond to the interests of these countries, so too do good relations between these countries and the Soviet Union and their other neighbors correspond to the interests both of security in Asia and in the world.

In any case, the results of this visit are quite significant. Of course, Japanese-Chinese relations are advancing considerably. The Japanese are granting very substantial credit at the moment.

[Levin] Another $2 billion.

[Shishlin] Precisely speaking, $2,000,113,000.

[Bovin] That's an awful lot.

[Shishlin] It is a big sum indeed.

[Bovin] But is not such a great deal, given China's needs. Even so, it is still a substantial figure.

[Levin] If one takes into account that Yugoslavia recently obtained a credit of $3.5 million from the International Monetary Fund, the $2 billion for the Chinese does not look so big.

[Shishlin] I cannot fail to mention that in the speeches exchanged by the Japanese and Chinese leaders during Nakasone's visit, an important theme was that of the struggle with hegemonism, and although it was not named directly, it was specified in commentaries that it was the Soviet Union that was meant. There was talk of the skirmish between the two superpowers -- the skirmish between the Soviet Union and the United States. This, too, could be considered in the USSR to be fairly critical. In order to round off our assessment of this visit, I would like to say that there are two sides here too; that is, it is the normal and sovereign affair of Japan and China to develop relations with one another. There is another side: How does this affect the outside world? Unfortunately, we cannot say at the moment that this has an entirely positive effect, if one takes into account those statements I have already mentioned.

[Bovin] One should note that this activization of Japanese foreign policy is taking place under Nakasone. It is very significant, for Nakasone is at the moment in China, and in May he intends to go ts India. These are two major Asian states. I don't think a Japanese prime minister has visited India since the war. And now, at last, the Japanese have decided to make a visit to India, for which India is making quite thorough preparations. For Japan this means, first and foremost, the opportunity for credits, credits guaranteed with material means, equipment, tools....

[Shishlin interrrupts] Technology.

[Bovin] And technology. So Japanese diplomacy is now on the offensive in Asia. Nikolay Vladimirovich was right when he said that on the one hand this is a natural process of reviving links between Asian states, but certain questions arise. Against whom will this work, for whom will it work, and where, so to speak, are the hidden stumbling blocks? We will have to speak about this in each specific case.

[Levin] During his visit to China, Nakasone -- as well as the Japanese press -- quite often reiterated the American thesis to the effect that the increase of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces in the Far East constitutes the main threat. That is the same claim started at the time of the Geneva negotiations, when the Americans asserted that -- as they said -- the deployment of our SS-20 missiles in the Far East region constitutes a great danger for that region, although all that we are doing in that region from the point of view of securing our security is in response to American actions.

U.S. Arms Development Criticized

I should like to stress precisely this line, the fact that in military-political respects, the Japanese are fairly clearly following in the wake of the Americans, and the Americans are endeavoring literally everywhere to further aggravate and exacerbate the situation and bring about a further intensification of the armaments race.

Take the visit by U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger to the Netherlands, Greece and Turkey, where next week there will be a meeting of the Nuclear Planning Group. The visit is, to a high degree, significant as a continuation of the unchanging American course of stepping up the arms race.

An interesting point is that at present in the Netherlands the issue being discussed is whether or not to deploy, or rather whether to agree to the deployment of American cruise missiles...

[Shishlin interrupts] And how many to deploy.

[Levin] Yes, and how many to deploy? Well, I would say that this is already a more technical point. The political issue is a "yes" or a "no" to demands for the installation of these Tomahawk cruise missiles. It is under these conditions that Weinberger will arrive there. Naturally, everyone immediately wonders why he is going. Is he intending to do some arm-twisting? Foreseeing this type of question in advance, the Americans have assured in reply that Weinberger, as secretary of defense, has never visited the Netherlands, and this is why he wishes to visit the country. But his visit to the country leaves no doubt as to its purpose. It started with a Pentagon spokesman and then Weinberger himself saying that without the deployment of cruise missiles on the soil of the Netherlands, a resumption of the Geneva talks on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe will be impossible. This is quite strange logic. After all, if one ponders what Weinberger has been saying, then it turns out that the Geneva talks should somehow sanctify the installation of the new American missiles. By his logic, the more missiles there are, the more probable talks are, but what purpose would there then be for talks? Talks on limitations? No, that is not the outcome.

A resumption of the Geneva talks, a matter on which the Soviet Union occupies a very precise and clear position, is only possible given a return to the situation that existed prior to the start of the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe. If NATO and the United States agree to this, then we too, for our part, will take corresponding steps. But talks under conditions of a fresh deployment of missiles would be an absurdity. It is an absurdity to which the Soviet Union will never agree, since to conceal a further deterioration of the military-strategic position by talks is impermissible.

[Bovin] I would just like to say that at present the same Weinberger has his hands full. On the one hand, all these games with missiles are far from finished, and it is not only a question of the Netherlands, say, not having decided something, but also the fact that every missile brought into Europe will continue to arouse feelings. Secondly, the problem of Greek-Turkish relations is one of NATO's vulnerable spots. Altogether there exists the problem of altering NATO strategy, which is now being actively discussed within NATO, and an increase in the European component of NATO. In general NATO at the same moment is like an overturned anthill, where, under the influence of the new situation and new turnabouts in policy there has all the time been this or that acute angle to negotiate.

[Levin] However, it might be, and with all the problems existing in NATO and between some NATO partners, the U.S. course unfortunately continues to remain set. It is to be discerned both in those actions being implemented and also in those plans the United States is at present drawing up. This is being done under cover of demagogic statements about a love of peace, but the latter is nothing more than a smokescreen and camouflage intended to conceal the real state of affairs from the public.

The Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and peace-loving forces in the West are tearing off this camouflage and showing the true, aggressive essence of American foreign policy. This is also a very important factor in the struggle for peace.

[Shishlin] Nevertheless, it is not just that the United States is bypassing the Soviet Union's well-known proposals that are indeed directed at resuming full-blooded and fruitful talks. It is, on the contrary, creating ever more obstacles in the way of the search for a basis for some kind of argreement on arms limitation and reduction. It is not deviating by a single day from the NATO timetable that was fixed in 1979 in Brussels. This, of course, alarms the world, brings international relations to a fever pitch, and has a grave effect on the state of Soviet-American relations.

Chernenko Speech Cited

But I would like to say that one must not think that everything is completely deadlocked and that no way out exists. Ways out do indeed exist. These exits were set forth in particular in the pre-election speech by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, which expresses many concrete ideas and considerations, and sums up the Soviet position which was worked out over many years. This position is directed at fully reviving the process of detente, smoothing out international relations, and improving the international political climate political climate.

[Levin] I should like to add to this that which is stated in Comrade Chernenko's reply to the message from a delegation of the town council of the Italian town of Assisi and representatives of the Franciscan Order. This reply stresses that not a single opportunity or chance should be missed for a return to the path of negotiations -- negotiations, or course, that are constructive and that would truly serve the cause of strengthening peace and halting the arms race.

Among the peace proposals that have been submitted of late by the Soviet Union, particular attention is merited by the norms for relations between nuclear powers as were set forth by Comrade Chernenko in his 2 March pre-election speech. These norms generalize the approach of the Soviet Union to one of the most acute problems of the present day; namely, the problem of averting nuclear war. They pose the question of regarding the averting of nuclear war as the main goal of foreign policy, and of not permitting situations fraught with nuclear conflict. But in the event of such a danger arising, the Soviet Union proposes that urgent consultations be held in order to prevent a nuclear conflagration. Another norm provides for a renunciation of nuclear war propaganda in any form, whether global or limited. There is also a provision that all nuclear powers undertake a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The next norm states taht under no circumstances should nuclear weapons be employed against non-nuclear countries on whose territory such weapons do not exist, and that the status of existing nuclear-free zones be respected and the formation of new ones in various parts of the world be encouraged. It is proposed that the spread of nuclear weapons in any form be not allowed, that these weapons or control over them not be handed over to anyone whatsoever, that they not be stationed in the territory of countries where they do not exist, and that the nuclear arms race not be transferred to new spheres, including space. Finally, the sixth norm has the aim that step by step and on the basis of equal security there be a striving to achieve a reduction of all forms of nuclear armaments until their total elimination.

These six norms have met with a very broad response among all circles of the international public. They are being animatedly discussed and seriously commented upon, and it is being noted that implementation of the Soviet proposals could indeed play a decisive role in averting nuclear war.

The constructive nature of Soviet foreign policy and of the foreign policy of the socialist community states, and the energetic actions in the international arena of other peace-loving forces instill confidence that the difficult period in the development of international relations we are now experienceing can and will be overcome. The Soviet Union Union, as has been emphasized in all the documents of our party and state, is fully determined to do everything possible to consolidate peace and the security of peoples.

At this point, esteemed comrades, our broadcast comes to an end. Thank you for your attention. All the best to you!

MOSCOW TV'S 1 APRIL 'STUDIO 9' PROGRAM

U.S. Missile Deployment Scored

OW311732 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0902 GMT 31 Mar 84

["Studio 9" program moderated by Professor Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer of Soviet television and radio, with political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin and Professor Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, deputy director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades. We are meeting with you in Studio 9 of the Ostankino Television Center in our monthly program devoted to topical problems of world politics. Many important events are occurring in the world political arena, and many problems have arisen which are attracting the attention of the world public. However, the main problem unquestionably is the problem associated with nuclear weapons.

Addressing voters, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko stressed that curbing the nuclear arms race, of course, is of key significance to the peace and security of peoples. The Soviet Union has been and remains a supporter of prohibiting and destroying all kinds of nuclear weapons, and our proposals in this regard have long been advanced. However, the United States has not only blocked discussion of these proposals, particularly in the United Nations, but has also taken concrete steps directed at building up the nuclear missile arms race.

Four months have already passed since the United States began deploying their Pershing-II intermediate-range missiles in Europe. I think it would be correct to begin our discussion today with a reply to the question: What have these actions of Washington, supported by their NATO allies, introduced into international relations?

[Shishlin] Valentin Sergeyevich, I think that the deployment of U.S. missiles in the territory of a number of West European states produced results which were to a great extent the reverse of the expectations of Washington.

How did the United States see the scenario of events after Pershing-II and cruise missiles were deployed on West European territory? It asserted that the deployment of missiles would not destroy the basis of talks being held in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union, and that the deployment in itself would make the Soviet Union more obliging, and then the success of the talks would be at hand.

The United States, in fact, disregarded the possibilities of concluding a mutually-acceptable agreement that existed in the fall of 1983, possibilities which were created by broad and courageous Soviet proposals on profound reduction of intermediate-range weapons. As a result of U.S. actions, the talks were broken off -- the talks were frustrated.

However, the consequences are not limited to this. You know that essentially, we have the right to characterize both the Pershing-II and cruise missiles deployed in Western Europe as strategic weapons, insofar as they are located directly on the doorstep of the Soviet Union, on the doorstep of our socialist friends. Well, as such, a new, fourth component has been added to the established order of U.S. strategic arms. This, of course, immediately complicated the entire situation at the talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms.

As it was, these talks were very tough, difficult, and hard, and with the failure of the talks on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, the talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms also -- to put it mildly -- began to founder, or in general, simply speaking, the situation here changed toward a very bad direction. There was also a series of political consequences. Moreover, there were complex consequences in connection with the deployment of U.S. nuclear missile weapons; namely, a worsening of Soviet-U.S. relations, a growing concern within the camp of their allies, and the alarm of America itself.

Just recently, Senator Edward Kennedy, discussing the militarist policy of the current U.S. Administration and the U.S. President, said: More guns, bullets, and troops -- it seems this is all he understands about foreign policy. Therefore, it is no wonder that since coming to power the current U.S. Administration has not been able to undertake one successful diplomatic initiative.

[Zhurkin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, indeed, it also appears that despite the numerous complications that these dangerous actions by Washington produced in the international arena, the Reagan administration has not learned anything after all, because this build-up of arms -- primarily nuclear arms -- is continuing at a constant rate.

The first stage of intermediate-range missile deployment in Europe included 41 missiles: 16 cruise missiles in both Great Britain and Italy, and 9 Pershing II missiles in the FRG. Accelerated preparations are underway for deploying the next batch of missiles in Britain and the FRG, and then in Italy. Preparations are already beginning in Belgium. Pressure is being applied on the Netherlands; moreover it is impudent and cynical pressure. THE WASHINGTON POST reported that a high-ranking Pentagon representative warned the Netherlands that their refusal to deploy U.S. cruise missiles would strike a serious and possibly fatal blow to the hopes of resuming talks with the Soviet Union on arms control.

[Zhurkin] They themselves broke off the talks, put pressure on their allies, intimidating them, because they would supposedly further hinder the resumption of these talks. I must say that in June there will be a session of Parliament in the Netherlands, at which time this question will be decided. It is facing a very fierce struggle regarding these missiles, and not only Pershing and cruise missiles. Incidentally, cruise missiles are spreading like leprosy in all regions where U.S. strategic forces are deployed, on bombers...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Moreover, inthe Far East.

[Zhurkin] In the Far East, B-52 bombers on Guam are being equipped with cruise missiles. The 7th Fleet will soon be equipped with cruise missiles. The battleship New Jersey, which is located off the shores of Lebanon, is equipped with cruise missiles. The number of strategic bombers based on U.S. territory is approaching 1,000 and so on and so forth. In short, this accelerated nuclear arms race is continuing increasingly, and here the Reagan administration continues to stop at nothing.

[Zorin] Yet, at the same time, in giving an account of the negative consequences of the Soviet-U.S. talks that were broken off by these actions, I would say that Washington is undertaking all sorts of ruses. A story was recently circulated in Washington that, although the Geneva talks have been suspended, some kind of unofficial contacts -- confidential contacts -- were supposedly taking place between the Soviet Union and the United States, in the course of which these problems were discussed. What do you say?

[Shishlin] In general, despite this entire cold [ledyanoy] period in Soviet-U.S. relations, it is natural that some ties between the Soviet Union and the United States are maintained, and simply must be maintained. However, there simply cannot, of course, be any talk about substantive and confidential contacts between the USSR and the Untied States.

Nevertheless, it would be more precise to say that these contacts simply do not exist and, moreover. the sphere of problems that now divide the Soviet Union and the United States as a result of the administration's actions is expanding. This is, of course, a direct consequence of the position of the U.S. side, which can in now way face the necessity of conducting affairs with the Soviet Union on equal terms, and only on equal terms.

[Zorin] It is known that Washington set great hopes on the deployment of its Pershing missiles in Europe, Assuming that this would give the United States on opportunity to solve many problems. In this regard, I would like to ask you, Vitaliy Vladimirovich, now that 4 months have already passed and one can make some judgment, to answer the question: What has the United States achieved by beginning the deployment of its missiles in Europe?

[Zhurkin] Valentin Sergeyevich, the beginning of the deployment of missiles in Europe has first of all -- as Nikolay Vladimirovich already said at the start of our talk -- complicated and very seriously endangered the situation in Europe.

Besides this, what goals did the United States set? Well, it set the goal of changing the correlation of forces in Europe and the correlation of strategic forces. This was a complete failure because the Soviet Union, by its reciprocal actions both in Europe and in the direction of the United States itself, balanced -- did not permit the upset of either the balance of intermediate-range nuclear forces and nuclear forces in Europe in general, or the balance of strategic forces. If one talks about further goals, of course there was the goal of trying to impose nuclear arms limitation talks on the Soviet Union, to put it bluntly, at the point of a U.S. missile. This was also frustrated.

Arms Talks Discussed

Incidentally, if we look back a little at history, generally speaking it is not the first time that the United States has broken off talks. If one looks at the past 5 or 6 years, there is indeed, going back into history, a long series of talks that were broken off by the Americans. In 1978, they unilaterally broke off talks on the limitation of military activity in the Indian Ocean and on the trade and supply of conventional arms. They subsequently broke off the talks on antisatellite systems, and then broke off the tripartite Soviet-U.S.-British talks on the total prohibition of nuclear tests.

Three treaties with the United States have been signed but not ratified: the 1974 treaty on the limitation of undergound nuclear tests -- 10 years have already passed; the 1976 treaty on peaceful nuclear tests, nuclear tests for peaceful purposes; and the 1979 treaty on strategic arms limitation, which we call the Salt II treaty. Some of them have not been submitted by the U.S. leadership for ratification. The suspension of talks that the United States has conducted in recent years somehow forms a unified line.

Furthermore -- and this has been discussed many times -- the matter of really unifying NATO over the deployment of missiles. What do we have instead? NATO has approached its 35th anniversary -- 4 April is NATO's 35th anniversary -- in a very confused state and with enormous internal contradictions.

Finally, within the United States, there was hope that the deployment of missiles would give rise to some new outbreak of chauvinism or intoxication with power, but instead there is fear and alarm.

[Shishlin] It is also probably interesting, Vitaliy Vladimirovich, to ask the following question: Did the security of the United States itself gain anything from the deployment of these new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe? And if we attempt to answer this question, too, we will probably find that, of course, the security of the United States only lost from this action. Because to attempt in the nuclear age to ensure the security of a great power at the expense of another state -- and moreover another great power -- is simply unthinkable and impossible. In general, security in our time can only be equal, for big, medium, and small states alike.

[Zorin] In connection with the topic we are discussing, I would like to ask a question related to the fact that recently it has been noted that top officials in Washington have changed the tone of their pronouncements on problems of world politics, and particularly on questions of USSR-U.S. relations. Statements being made in Washington sound quite peaceable and call on the Soviet Union for dialogue. Now what lies behind this and what has led to this?

[Shishlin] Well, probably here it is necessary to say -- so that our listeners can more precisely picture the state of affairs -- that first of all it is true that dove-like statements have arisen and emerged from the midst of the current U.S. Administration. But one cannot say that statements of an opposite bent are absent. They have been made; in particular the latest statements of President Reagan permit us to recollect Reagan completely, to recall the Reagan of 1980, 1981, and 1982. So, statements of various substance have been made. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union, of course, does not reject out of hand any proposal being made today in Washington. And, of course, we do not refuse to discuss even peripheral questions, even with the current U.S. Administration. On the contrary, these questions can and must be discussed if they deserve to be.

Yet, for all that, to be frank, the value of verbal exercises, even on the most noble of topics, is not very high if words are not reinforced by practical deeds corresponding to responsible attitudes. Now, in connection with this -- not only, as a matter of fact, the U.S. proposals that we have already discussed, about its attempts to evade discussion of fundamental problems of contemporary international life or to solve these problems in its own way -- let us take the reaction of the United States to Soviet proposals and Soviet initiatives.

You know that there have been very many of these proposals and they were really very solid proposals. Take, for example, the proposal on banning the militarization of space, or the Soviet idea outlined by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko on developing definite norms for relations between states possessing nuclear weapons. So far, the United States has kept silent on these. Yet even the beginning of consultations on working out a code of this kind on restraint, or if you will, a code of joint responsibility of nuclear powers for maintaining peace, could contribute such a scarce element as confidence to contemporary international relations. Who can say? Possibly the development of this code would permit, would serve as a kind of preventative means for preventing the emergence of new conflicting situations and help normalization of existing crises on a just basis.

In other words -- returning to your question, replying quite directly to your question -- we are forced to declare that nevertheless, even if there is something serious in the U.S. proposals, if there is something sincere in the peaceable statements of representatives of the current U.S. Administration, then the percentage of sincerity, the percentage of seriousness is very small, and therefore...

[Zhurkin interrupting] Most likely it is simply equal to zero.

[Zorin] From what we have said so far, a conclusion can be made that the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe has brought about a serious new political situation in the international arena and in world politics. I think it would be interesting to dwell on the question of how this new situation is being manifested in Western Europe.

U.S.-European Ties Viewed

[Zhurkin] Something unusual is currently occurring in Western Europe, Valentin Sergeyevich. Western Europe is in a state of the most peculiar fermentation. I think that we cannot yet fully assess the consequences of the shock to which Western Europe was subjected when the United States deployed intermediate-range missiles. I think 4 months is too short a time.

Nevertheless, the Americans shook Western Europe in a way they had not done for a long time, and a variety of different things are happening, which are sometimes incompatible, but unusual things are happening. Some people have recalled that the century is ending, that 16 years remain before we go into the next millenium, as...

[Zorin interrupting] You have Margaret Thatcher in mind.

[Zhurkin] ...Margaret Thatcher recalled in an article in THE TIMES newspaper. In this regard, other people are saying that a closer look should generally be given to the stagnant [zaskoruzlyy] system of West European-U.S. alliances, and at NATO, and to think about certain common aspects of European security.

A small example: The election in the very conservative FRG Land of Baden-Wuerttemberg, one of the strongholds of the Christian Democrats. The antinuclear Green Party took third place, pushing out the Free Democratic Party, which traditionally occupied third place. This appears to be trivial, but at the same time is not, if we connect this with the fact that the antinuclear movement continues. Strictly speaking, the United States and Washington had calculated that this whole movement would collapse with the deployment of intermediate-range missiles; but no, it continues to develop. A fear of war is growing in Europe. Before the beginning of deployment it was, I think, fairly abstract, but now, when the Pershing II's and cruise missiles are right on hand, it has become tangible.

The reaction in the United States itself to these events has become, to some extent, an indicator, if you will, of these changes, this ferment in Europe. Take the sensational Kissinger article in TIME magazine -- after all, Kissinger devoted his whole life to Western Europe -- where he says that the NATO crisis is unprecedented in the history of this alliance. I found one admission in a completely unexpected place, in the just released annual Caspar Weinberger report to Congress on the 1985-89 military program -- in this bible, as you could call it, of contemporary U.S. militarism.

Traditionally, the challenges faced by the United States are enumerated at the beginning of these reports. In the latest report, the primary challenge is for the first time the challenge within our alliances, Weinberger says.

He says that new tension has appeared in the alliances, primarily in NATO, and makes the following admission: The fact that people have seen only peace for nearly 40 years in relations between the superpowers, forces them to ask themselves the question: Was it military force which prevented war, or was it some other factor, like economic interdependence, or maybe the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union, or possibly the spirit of detente?

The remainder of this thick book is devoted to appeals for increased military spending, up to more than $3 billion, in the next financial year. Nevertheless, the admission found in this book is most symptomatic. They are uneasy and fidgety in the United States over what is currently occurring in their relations with Western Europe.

[Shishlin, interrupting] Possibly, Vitaliy Vladimorish, one can say that, of course, the Europeans simply want to talk in a more independent and self-dependent voice. At the same time, it would probably be incorrect to doubt the loyalty of the Europeans to NATO or the United States. In Denmark, which I recently visited, the Danish Social Democrats -- and this party enjoys a majority in Parliament, although it voluntarily gave up power to the Conservative Party last year -- considers that in the current situation, Europe -- and they warn directly -- that Europe, of course, continues to be loyal to NATO. But we are against missiles, they add.

Most characteristic are attempts by Europeans to feel out possibilities, to reveal possibilities, to find them in order to be able to talk in a relatively independent and self-dependent voice -- not necessarily an anti-American or a pro-American one. Generally, there is in the air, in the minds of Europeans, an idea that something must be done to calm down the development of events.

More is being said in government circles about what, say, the United States or the Soviet Union must do. Comrades probably know that many very highly placed people from the West European states have recently visited the United States, and all of them, it seem to me, have proposed ideas for reviving East-West dialogue. But if government circles speak about a desire for Soviet or U.S. moves, then the opposition parties -- and the influence of opposition parties in West European countries is noticeably growing -- pose the question: What can Europe itself do? What initiatives could they themselves propose for their part?

This could be felt here in Moscow, as a matter of fact, during the latest meetings with West Europeans, particularly the most recent meetings with the West German Social Democrats, who met with Comrade Chernenko and other Soviet leaders. In other words, there is an obvious mood for change, for the benefit of change.

In practical politics likewise, positive things are occurring, particularly in our economic cooperation with the West European countries. Although generally somewhat lean, they are developing sufficiently smoothly, although, of course, they are not free of certain problems. But, overall, this can be said.

[Zhurkin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, I have, as a matter of fact, taken the trouble to make the following calculations concerning our economic cooperation with West Europe. Let us compare the volume of trade of certain large West European countries with the Soviet Union and the CEMA countries on the one hand, and with the United States on the other. About 15 years ago, trade with the Americans was many times, sometimes dozens of times, greater than trade with us. However currently, the volume of trade of the FRG with the CEMA countries is approximately equal to the volume of its trade with the United States -- somewhere on the order of $20 billion or more.

The volume of Italy's trade with the CEMA countries, it is true, is about 1.5 times less than that with the United States, but, in some ways, it is comparable. Unfortunately, of course, this economic basis often does not influence political realities, but, nevertheless, it exists.

[Shishlin] I would like to return, nevertheless, to that which concerns our mutual relations with Europe. I consider it a plus in the current situation that our contacts with the West Europeans -- political contacts to be precise, and political ties, as distinct from our mutual relations with the Americans -- are intensifying and multiplying. As far as meetings of Soviet leaders with West Europeans leaders are concerned, the 1984 diplomatic calendar is exremely full. I would like as a matter of fact, to mention a curious fact; the galvanization, so to speak, of the West European alliance. This alliance emerged just after World War II, and consists of seven West European countries -- the United States does not participate in it. Now, suddenly, the idea of reviving this West European alliance has reappeared. A meeting of the foreign ministers of this West European alliance has already been set for May, while the defense ministers are to meet in the fall.

This fact is very, very curious. It would seem that, on the one hand, it is not a good thing that this West European alliance -- generally a military and political organization -- is reviving, whereas, on the other hand, there is something in this fact that prevents a simple assessment of this manifestation.

[Zhurkin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, nevertheless, judging by reports in the press, they will be talking about some kind of joint West European effort in the sphere of building up conventional arms, possibly even new weapons systems. All the same, somehow one would like to see new methods, not old-fashioned ones, being used in Euope in response to new problems presently facing it; methods suggested to us by the Helsinki final act -- all-European methods.

[Shishlin] Yes, of course, that is true. But I would simply like to draw attention to another side of the matter; that, of course, the very attempt to solve political problems by military means -- in other words, not even direct military means, but simply by building up arms -- will hardly bring reassurance to European relations. This is a fact. But it seems to be that U.S. reticence at this West European idea is, to some measure, symptomatic, because the United States, it seems to me, to some extent lawfully sees another challenge in this to the North Atlantic bloc.

[Zorin] In other words, the United States has become used to the fact that nothing is done in Europe without it, that it has a direct say in all important moves of the West European countries. And suddenly something is happening which has not been coordinated with Washington, and hence it is on its guard.

[Shishlin] Yes, and, moreover, since the United States really has assumed a monopoly on deciding military questions without Europe and for Europe, only prescribing how much they must spend, the Europeans, naturally, are not very complacent in this.

[Zhurkin] Although it seems to me one can well expect that Washington would go to any ends [kostmi layazhet], as they say, to bring this process under its control, and somehow attempt to drive it into a common stream of Western arms buildup.

[Zorin] Now, the situation in Euope we are discussing, and the various obvious checks in relations between Western Europe and the United States, which could be seen especially clearly recently, explain to a great extent, I think, why attempts are now being made in Washington to change their tone. They are attempting to conceal, with peaceable statements, far from peaceable actions. This apparently is one of the reasons.

However, it seems there is another reason. It seems to me that the election campaign, which has begun in earnest in the United States -- the campaign in preparation for the Presidential election -- plays far from a minor role in this phraseology, or rhetoric, on the topic of peace, which can be heard coming from Washington. Every political step it makes, the administration correlates with how it will affect its chances in the election; how, in particular, a change in tone, an attempt to appear to be more balanced politicians than was the case during the first years of the current administration's tenure in office; how this will affect the election campaign.

Vitaliy Vladimorovich, you recently returned from the United States. It is interesting. Do your observations confirm the opinion that Washington's political maneuvering, this peace rhetoric of the Washington leaders, is also related to the election campaign underway in that country?

[Zhurkin] Yes, Valentin Sergeyevich, to a very great extent. After all, when active preparations for deploying U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe were underway, there was undoubtedly a calculation that this would be represented as a major victory for the administration, and help consolidate President Reagan's position in the forthcoming November elections. It was reasoned that Western Europe would be brought into some kind of single line, that NATO would be strengthened with the deployment of these missiles, that there would be a surge of some kind of self-sufficiency, a new surge of strength in the United States itself. Obviously this calculation failed.

Both the deployment of these missiles and other military programs presently being pursued by the Reagan administration generally somehow changed in the consciousness of Americans -- at least of many Americans -- to quite another direction. A fear of war began to grow, and a fear that the administration, by some rash act, might bring the United States to the threshold. Realizing this quickly, the organizers of Reagan's election campaign began to somehow quickly patch up, to shore up this vulnerable spot in the administration's position. Naturally, Reagan's opponents also realized this weakness, and put more emphasis in their speeches, particularly on questions of war and peace. But it is no coincidence that all the candidates, all the current Democratic Party presidential aspirants, who are politically diverse ...

[Zorin interrupting] Diverse in many things, but on one thing they agree.

[Zhurkin] They agree that steps must be taken to lessen the threat of war. It is characteristic that all of them, in different ways -- more or less catagorically -- spoke out, say, for freezing the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States.

It seems to me that an important symptom of what is happening in the United States-- although the antiwar movement there has not ceased for several years now -- an important new symptom is the fact that businessmen have begun to actively join this movement. They are joining in an organized way. For example, a group of 25 presidents and vice presidents of fairly large American corporations took out an advertisement in THE NEW YORK TIMES appealing to businessmen to unite against the nuclear threat.

They conclude their statement -- yes, incidentally this advertisement included a graph on which the amount of explosive materials used in World War II is shown with a single small dot, while an enormous number of dots on the page show how much greater is the amount of explosive material currently in nuclear weapons -- with the words: Either the leaders of business will join the war against the nuclear arms race, or business, like everything else, will perish.

[Zorin] Well, this is evidence of differences, not only in other levels of American society, but also the fact that business circles have been affected by these differences...

[Zhurkin interrupting] Yes, Valentin Sergeyevich, business is splitting, or at least a part is splitting away and is joining the struggle against the nuclear arms race. Why do I think this is symptomatic? Because this has not occurred for some 15 years. If you recall, the last time that part of the business community participated, actively participated in the antiwar movement, was 15 years ago at the height of U.S. aggression in Indochina. At the time, there was an upsurge in the participation of business representatives in this struggle, and today a new wave is beginning. Of course, the kaleidoscope of these political forces, of various attitudes is united by some common denominator, some common antiwar denominator, if you will, and of course, it affects the election campaign in the United States.

If we talk about the election campaign itself -- this marathon, as the Americans call it, and sometimes they call it a show -- is currently in full swing. Of course, everybody's attention is focused on the situation in the Democratic Party, because with the Republicans it is clear; President Reagan will be nominated at the convention in August this year, while with the Democrats a struggle between various candidates is underway. Only three of them remain, but, generally, the struggle is between two -- former Vice President Mondale and Senator Gary Hart.

[Zorin] Vitaly Vladimirovich, what do you think? Which Democratic Party candidate has the greatest chance of becoming the presidential candidate, and Reagan's opponent at the 6 November election?

[Zhurkin] I hesitate to give a decisive answer on this question, because both Mondale and Hart have strong positions. Valentin Sergeyevich, naturally I am addressing the question to you too. What do you think, what chances...

[Zorin interrupting] I think that, of course, the fact that Hart is peddling criticism, criticism of the current administration's foreign policy brings him fairly broad support. But I imagine that Mondale's position is stronger; stronger because one of the decisive -- or it can be said the decisive -- factors in the U.S. election system, under conditions of American democracy, is money, how much money the candidates have.

Now Mondale, who began earlier, and who was viewed as the Democratic Party favorite at the very beginning of the election campaign, got the backing of many influential circles, including business circles, and so has sufficient money to conduct this campaign. At least he has already spent three times the amount on the election campaign that Hart has. He has sufficiently large financial reserves, and it seems to me that before the end of the election campaign Mondale will have the financial advantage.

Incidentally, if we speak about Reagan's reserves, the American press recently reported that he will become the first candidate in U.S. history to spend more than $100 million on an election campaign. Regans's pro-monopoly policy has led to the fact that many influential corporations are backing him, and he is not experiencing a lack of funds. This will apparently be significant in the course and result of the election struggle this year.

But, in general, I would like to emphasize the following idea: that, of course, the fact that so far it is not clear who will be the Democratic Party candidate will leave its mark on the campaign. This is a fact of the campaign, but I imagine that its significance is being somewhat artificially exaggerated. The reports in the U.S. press and on U.S. television about the Hart-Mondale struggle are being presented too sensationally.

After all, these politicians are, in the long run, not all that clever, and so this intentionally sensational presentation of the struggle in the Democratic Party seems to me to be a calculated move -- a move related to the great apathy of U.S. voters, their insufficient interest in the progress of this election campaign. Many Americans understand that this election campaign, after all, does not decide much, and that they, the rank and file voter, can do little to change its outcome.

After all, it is even worth mentioning the following fact. The current U.S. President received his mandate to administer the state, as he likes to say, but only 27 percent of the U.S. voters voted for him and a considerable part of the U.S. voters simply stayed away from the ballot box. And this year there is a fear that the activity of voters will be even lower than it was in 1980.

So the attempt to present materials on the rivalry of Mondale and Hart, in the spirit of sports reportage, is an attempt to somewhat motivate the voters, and to raise their interest, which is not too great, in the current campaign.

U.S.-Soviet Relations Viewed

Now, I would like to ask you, my colleagues, the following question. We have already said that the situation, both in Europe and in the United States, has forced the Washington leaders to somewhat change their tone in their public statements, to carry out a kind of cosmetic operation, an operation not reinforced by any practical steps. Now, if these sentiments, particularly of the U.S. public, continue to be manifested with increasingly greater activity during the election campaign, do you think it possible that at a later stage in the current U.S. election campaign, there will be a turnabout and Washington will have to introduce practical corrections to its political course rather than just verbal ones?

[Shishlin] First of all, I would like to say that the following thesis concerning the Soviet Union is currently developing in the United States; the Soviet Union supposedly has adopted a definite rigid position as far as key international problems are concerned, and has no intention of changing this position in any way. This, of course, is not so. This is generally a false thesis.

There is no denying that the Soviet position is a principled one, and indeed we have no intention of abandoning this principled position. We really come out and are striving for a thorough reduction of arms, primarily nuclear arms.

But currently, when the U.S. Administration, as we have already mentioned, is continuing to accelerate the arms race, then, of course, there is simply no basis for talks. I personally do not imagine it very probable that the current U.S. Administration, taking all these psychological sentiments into account, will be capable of making any serious or substantial proposals that would permit the discovery of any new framework for talks on strategic arms, be they intermediate-range or intercontinental arms. However, hypothetically the possibility exists, because the Soviet Union has proposed a return to the situation prevailing before the breakdown of the Geneva talks, in other words, a return to more favorable conditions under which some reasonable compromise could be sought.

Second, another thesis being pursued in Western propaganda, and in this case not only U.S. propaganda, is that supposedly the Soviet Union has simply decided to await the outcome of the Presidential elections in the United States, does not want to have anything to do with the current U.S. Administration, and hopes for a certain amount of change during the elections.

This thesis is also absolutely false. The Soviet Union does not want to lose time, not a single month, a single week, or a single day, in finding ways and means for lowering the level of military confrontation and for solving those problems that indeed alarm the world's public today.

If real and positive changes appear in the U.S. position on questions of limiting and curtailing arms, whether these changes occur in the next few days, in the middle of the year, or directly on the eve of the U.S. presidential elections, then of course, the Soviet Union will not delay matters.

Now this does not concern Soviet-U.S. relations alone. Our country comes out for active cooperation with all countries in the pursuit of peace. There are many examples of this. In particular, Soviet-Chinese political consultations concluded recently and there is a lot of evidence that the Soviet Union most definitely strives for a normalization of relations with China, and moreover for good-neighborly relations with the PRC. Other examples of this are our positions at the talks in Vienna on limiting and reducing armed forces and arms in central Europe, and the active and constructive policy adopted by the Soviet Union at the Stockholm conference. In a word, our country is doing and will do everything so that hopes for a thaw in the international climate -- and these hopes do exist -- are not betrayed.

There is no arguing that confrontation is currently continuing, and that the crisis in international relations is a reality that exists and cannot be denied. At the same time, the need for change, change for the better, can be felt with increasing authority. I would like to recall the words of Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko. In one of his speeches, he said: The field on which efforts can be made for strengthening peace is broad and boundless. Our country will cooperate in full measure with all states that are ready in practice to promote a lessening of international tensions and to create an atmosphere of confidence in the world.

It seems that by vigorous activities throughout the months of 1984, vigorous activities in cooperation with our socialist friends and with those ruling circles of Western countries capable of reasonable cooperation, and by strengthening mutual ties with the Nonaligned Movement, we can and must pave the way for such an essential turn for the better in international relations.

[Zorin] Well, our time on the air has run out. It remains for me to thank you, my colleagues, for taking part in our discussion and to thank our television viewers for their attention. So, until we meet again here in our Studio 9, thank you.

KORNILOV TERMS PENTAGON PAMPHLET PROPAGANDA OPUS

LD301649 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 30 Mr 84

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The more the world public becomes concerned about the U.S. aggressive foreign policy threatening international security, the busier Washington becomes in its efforts to conceal and masquerade the militarist essence of its policy and scare the gullible with its inventions about a "Soviet threat". This aim will also be served by a Pentagon pamphlet called "Soviet Military Power," whose forthcoming publication was announced in Washington by U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

It is not the first time the Pentagon sets about cooking up a propaganda opus of this kind: The booklet advertized by Weinberger will be the third in the series. The two previous editions were as like as two peas. They both contained piles of falsehoods and doctored-up data about Soviet policy (?and) deliberately distorted the real picture of the alignment of military forces between the USSR and the United States, and, of course, covered up Washington's dangerous militarist plans.

They both impudently juggled with facts, shamelessly twisted data, and employed a cheater's tricks in comparing the military expenditures of the two sides. It is not difficult to predict that this time, too, the Pentagon's brass are going to manufacture a concoction of the same sort.

Characteristically, the Pentagon disinformation experts are going to turn out their latest product at a time when Washington, which has not at all abandoned its illusory hope to gain military superiority and has blasted away the talks in Geneva, is continuing to deploy its first-strike weapons in Western Europe at a forced pace, turning the countries allied with it in NATO into the hostages of its extremely dangerous policy, which is alien to them. The latest batch of tall stories about "Moscow's aggressiveness" is going to be issued at a time when U.S. military appropriations to the Defense Department alone in fiscal 1985 have been planned at 313 billion dollars, which is two to 2.5 times more than three years ago.

The latest batch of concoctions is going to be published at a time when Washington, while urging "dialogue" and "arms control" in words, has stubbornly failed in practice to show readiness to return to the situation, which existed in Europe before the started deployment of American missiles there, and thereby effectively blocked any possibility of talks.

The Pentagon's third fabrication of this kind, with whose help certain circles in the United States hope to fuel the provocative outcry over their own product -- the myth of a "Soviet threat", is at the same time designed to draw the attention of public opinion in America and elsewhere from the Reagan administration's dangerous militarist plans and actions. The trick is now new, and one can say in advance that it will not bring dividends to those who are going to employ it. Even when batch-produced, lies remain nothing but lies.

U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS SAID CLOSE TO FREEZING

LD012325 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Apr 84

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by APN political observer Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] Hello, comrades! On Saturday, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's reply to a message from a delegation from the Italian town of Assisi and representatives of the Franciscan Order was published.

The message contains an appeal to work for the cause of peace, and the reply expresses full agreement with this aim. There is no higher aim than to preserve the human race. The way to achieve this is to refrain from confrontation and to let no chance for a return to negotiations slip. However, official Washington makes it a rule not to respond to appeals, signals or proposals coming from Moscow. The White House, for instance, did not respond to our willingness to discuss norms of relations which would facilitate the reduction and then the liquidation of nuclear weapons. But the public is alarmed by this confrontation course, a course like two trains rushing toward each other on the same track.

Since the Americans will be voting in November, the candidate for reelection has changed his tone. This applied from 16 January and will obviously continue until 6 November. There is no confrontation, it seems. A businesslike dialogue is supposed to be taking place, with the Ameircan side wanting still more of the same. There are no grounds for alarm, it is said. It was in this sense that Ronald Reagan gave an interview the other day to THE NEW YORK TIMES. The White House's current talk of a dialogue is silent acknowledgement of an important political fact: namely, that crude anti-Sovietism, to use the American expression, is not selling. The Americans are not buying it, they want something else, and official Washington has nothing else, because the U.S. rearmament program is continuing and missiles are being deployed in Europe. But these are old goods. They are simply being sold in new packaging. An almost pastoral picture of American-Soviet relations is drawn, while in fact these relations are close to freezing point. Whereas up until 16 January they were like a dialogue with the dumb, now they are like a dialogue with the deaf.

Americans are more and more often asking why Washington does not reply to the specific Soviet proposals since it is now talking about a dialogue? For example, the proposal not to permit an arms race in earth orbit, or the proposal to ban nuclear weapon tests? The preamble of the 1963 Moscow Treaty on banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in space, and under water contains an obligation to work for the cessation of all tests for all time. America also signed this document. What is that signature worth? According to Western calculations, since 1963 the American military have conducted considerably more underground tests than the Soviet military. Assertions of America lagging behind in the nuclear field -- if one compares the test figures, which are in America's favor -- become an admission of the rival's greater professionalism! However it may be, the Soviet side, in calling for a cessation of tests, is ready to stop at a figure which America has already surpassed. Nevertheless, you can expect further American explosions.

This is just one example, showing the uncontrollability of militarism. The week under review produced other examples too. At the Soviet-Ethiopian summit in Moscow, the sides paid particular attention to the situation in Africa, and came out against turning that continent into an arena of global confrontation. Other examples of unbridled militarism and the whipping up of tension are to be found. Nicaragua is in the grip of a naval blockade. The approaches to Nicaraguan ports are being mined. Ships are being blown up by mines. But Washington pretends that this is not its affair. It is clear to everyone that it is American mines that explode, exploding with the knowledge of the administration. This is 20th century piracy, banditry on the sea routes by a country that sends armadas to other places allegedly to safeguard the freedom of shipping.

A third example is American policy in the Near East. In the same NEW YORK TIMES interview, Reagan, replying to a question about this policy, also said, and I quote: The United States does not have the right to take sides with regard to that which must be discussed at talks between the Arab world and Israel.

Tell that to King Husyan of Jordan! Israel is on our soil thanks to American moral and political support, the king said. Until recently he still believed the United States had a constructive role in a Near East settlement. The United States, together with Israel, bears responsibility for the tragedy of the Palestinian people.

U.S. FULFILLMENT OF COMMITMENTS SOUGHT

AU291257 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Spartak Beglov, NOVOSTI political observer, "The Keys to Confidence and Negotiations," specially written for the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Moscow, 27 March -- AFTER THE RECENT MEETING BETWEEN ANDREY GROMYKO, USSR MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND ARTHUR HARRIMAN, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION, THE SOVIET SIDE CONCLUDED THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT YET ADOPTED MORE SOBER STANDS ON THE QUESTIONS CONCERNING CONSOLIDATING PEACE. ACCORDING TO MOSCOW THE RECENT DECLARATIONS OF THE WASHINGTON LEADERSHIP ON SOME SORT OF READINESS FOR A DIALOGUE AND FOR NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT SUPPORTED BY PRACTICAL DEEDS.

No signs are observable indicating that the United States is striving for achieving agreement in the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. Konstantin Chernenko recently recalled this by citing a long list of failures to fulfill commitments on the side of U.S. foreign policy. Three agreements have not yet been ratified. Not one of the questions on which Soviet-American negotiations had been conducted under the Carter administration -- concerning the full banning of nuclear weapons tests, the limitation of military activities in the Indian Ocean, and stopping of the development of antisatellite weapons and so forth -- have been pursued under the Reagan administration. The Soviet proposal on the mutual freezing of nuclear arsenals has been rejected. There is no sign of readiness on the part of the United States to eliminate obstacles along the path of negotiations over nuclear weapons in Europe -- namely, to restore the situation existing before the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in certain West European countries. Comrade Konstantin Chernenko stressed in his conversation with a group of FRG parliamentarians, held on 12 March, that the negotiations can be resumed at any moment if the aforementioned obstacles are eliminated.

Last, but least: Washington refuses to answer every time Moscow recalls the simplest (but vitally important for the exclusion of any possibility of nuclear war) method of consolidating confidence -- a method that does not require any special procedures -- namely, to assume the obligation of not being the first to have recourse to nuclear weapons, as the Soviet Union has already done.

At the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the Soviet Union submitted a proposal that the aforementioned commitment should be assumed by all nuclear states and, jointly with the other socialist countries, proposed that this commitment should become part of a treaty on nonuse of any military force between the NATO member-states and the Warsaw Pact member-countries. Washington immediately made it understood that it expects only a negative reaction from the other NATO partners on this subject. This reaction was based on the standard arguments that such commitments allegedly do not add anything to the well-known principles contained in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, and that they cannot be considered measures likely to contribute to confidence building.

The socialist countries consider such arguments unfounded, since their initiative by no means represents a mere reiteration, or rhetoric declaration of well-known principles, but the confirmation of such principles by specific contractual agreements and respective guarantees. The proposal submitted by the Warsaw Pact member-countries contains a mutual commitment of nonaggression with both nuclear and conventional weapons. Thus the argument used by Washington and NATO about the "necessity of resisting an attack made with conventional weapons with all kinds of weapons" becomes meaningless. This is the argument on which the refusal of the West to accept the commitment on not being the first to have recourse to nuclear weapons is actually based.

If, however, one side shows a readiness to do everything within its power so that the use of nuclear weapons becomes meaningless, and the other side refuses to take advantage of this opportunity, then the first side cannot help becoming convinced that its most pessimistic expectations have become true. These apprehensions are based on the following argument: All reasons exist to suspect that, unlike its predecessors, the present U.S. Administration disregards the importance of the problem of preventing nuclear war and prefers instead to engage in preparations for such war, striving by all means to achieve and preserve the privilege of its own choice about a nuclear alternative.

THE FOLLOWING FACTS FACE US: WITHIN THE 3 YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE THE PRESENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS POWER NOT ONLY TO REARM ITSELF WITH MORE EFFICIENT, NEW WEAPONS OF DESTRUCTION IN WAGING NUCLEAR WAR, BUT ALSO WITH THE RESPECTIVE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES FOR WAGING SUCH A WAR AS A PERMISSIBLE AND POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE. THIS IS HOW THE QUESTION OF THE UNITED STATES' READINESS FOR DISARMAMENT AND SUPPORT FOR SUCH READINESS BY PRACTICAL DEEDS TO A CERTAIN EXTENT HAS ASSUMED A DOUBLE DIMENSION. THIS DOES NOT MERELY PERTAIN TO THE FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD LIMIT OR REDUCE A CERTAIN SYSTEM OF WEAPONS, BUT TO THE READINESS OF THIS COUNTRY TO "DISARM" IN THE SECTOR OF DOCTRINES AIMED AT WAGING NUCLEAR WAR. WHILE THE LEADER OF THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE WAS TRYING TO PROVE THAT NO FIRST-STRIKE WEAPONS EXIST AT ALL, BERNARD ROGERS, THE "GENERAL-PRACTITIONER" AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE NATO FORCES IN EUROPE, ONCE AGAIN DECLARED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PLANNING TO BE THE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AT THE EARLIEST STAGE OF ANY ARMED CONFLICT.

This, precisely, is the crux of the matter in connection with confidence building, and above all, as regards our trust in U.S. intentions. Is it now quite obvious (and all the facts have proved it), that the United States interrupted the negotiations on the full banning of all nuclear weapons tests for one simple reasons, namely: for the practical necessity of taking advantage of the opportunity to develop and commission a new generation of nuclear weapons? Yes, this is quite true. All intentions and actions of the U.S. leadership have been focused on precisely this subject.

If the American leadership has "changed its faith" as it has been recently trying to prove, such proofs should be provided precisely through practical deeds.

BRIEFS

USSR-CANADA AIRPORT PACT -- A Soviet-Canadian agreement has been signed here on regular and wide-scale use of the Canadian airport, Gander, by Aeroflot planes. On behalf of the Soviet Union the intergovernmental agreement was signed by Aleksey Alekseyevich Rodionov, USSR ambassador, and on behalf of Canada by the minister of transport. [Excerpt] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Mar 84 LD]

DPRK LEADER KIM IL-SONG RECEIVES TASS DELEGATION

PM021303 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 84 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 1 Apr -- Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee, president of the DPRK, received Sergey Losev, general director of TASS, who is here at the invitation of the KCNA agency. Taking part in the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, were Kim Yong-nam, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the Administrative Council, DPRK minister of foreign affairs and Chu Hyon-ok, general director of KCNA, as well as Nikolay Shubnikov, USSR ambassador to the DPRK.

RECENT VISIT BY MPR'S DUGERSUREN ASSESSED

'Complete Unanimity' Noted

PM021144 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 84 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On a Visit to the USSR by M. Dugersuren, Member of the MPRP Central Committee and MPR Foreign Minister"]

[Text] M. Dugersuren, member of the MPRP Central Committee and Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] foreign minister, paid a friendly visit to the Soviet Union on 27-29 March 1984 at the Soviet Government's invitation.

Talks were held between A.A. Gromyko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR foreign minister, and M. Dugersuren during which questions of bilateral relations as well as a number of important international problems were discussed in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete unanimity.

The sides noted with satisfaction the dynamic development of Soviet-Mongolian relations, which are based on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and enshrined in the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. With each passing year, cooperation between the CPSU and MPRP and the USSR and MPR in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres and their collaboration in the international arena have acquired greater scope, grown stronger and been enriched with new forms. All this reliably serves the successful solution of tasks of communist and socialist building set by the 26th CPSU Congress and 18th MPRP Congress and the cause of peace, security, and socialism.

The recent meeting between K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Yu. Tsedenbal, general secretary of the MPR Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium, gave new impetus to the development of Soviet-Mongolian relations. During the meeting, emphasis was placed on the will and resolve of the Soviet and Mongolian Communists to do everything to further strengthen Soviet-Mongolian friendship and close cooperation.

During the exchange of views on the world situation, A.A. Gromyko and M. Dugersuren confirmed the sides' common assessment of the international situation, which has deteriorated through the fault of aggressive circles of the United States and NATO, whose aim is to smash the existing strategic military balance, secure military superiority, and use force to dictate their terms to others.

It was stressed that the U.S. inclusion of a number of parts of the world, including the Far East, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Ocean in its zone of so-called "vital interests" is aimed at building up its military presence in those areas, thus posing a threat to the security of the USSR, Mongolia, and other socialist countries.

A particular danger is posed by U.S. actions to kindle new conflicts on the Asian Continent, by the sharp intensification of militarist trends in Japan, that country's broad involvement in the implementation of Washington's global military plans, and the stepping up of strategic military collaboration between the United States, Japan, and South Korea.

The Soviet Union, the MPR, and the other socialist community countries counter the imperialist policy of confrontation and an unbridled arms race, crude pressure, and interference in sovereign states' affairs with a policy of easing international tension and eliminating the threat of war, a policy of peace and equal international cooperation.

Both sides stressed the great importance of the proposal put forward in K.U. Chernenko's 2 March speech on the range of norms that should govern relations between powers possessing nuclear weapons. It would be in keeping with the aspirations of all the peoples if the nuclear powers were to reach an accord jointly acknowledging these norms and making them compulsory.

The sides believe that the implementation of the socialist countries' proposals put forward in the Warsaw Pact states' Prague political declaration and in the Moscow joint statement by the socialist countries' leading party and state figures and these countries' new proposals aimed at curbing the arms race and effecting disarmament would be in keeping with the fundamental interests of international security.

Emphasis was placed on the fact that both sides are deeply committed to Asia -- where more than one-half of mankind lives -- becoming a continent of peace and good-neighborliness. In the implementation of practical steps in this dirction, the Soviet Union and the MPR, which take up a considerable part of the Asian Continent, are prepared to cooperate with all other states.

The two sides noted the great importance of the USSR's proposal on elaborating confidence-building measures for the Far East, the MPR's initiative on concluding a convention on mutual nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations between states in Asia and the Pacific, as well as other initiatives by the socialist countries geared to creating a tranquil, stable situation in that region.

The sides declared their resolute support for the constructive position and peace-loving proposals of Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, which are countering the hostile policy of imperialism and hegemonism toward their independence and freedom, and are seeking mutual understanding and normalized relations with other Southeast Asian countries. There was confirmation of the readiness of the USSR and MPR to contribute to a settlement of the Southeast Asian situation via talks and the transformation of the region into a zone of peace and stability.

The Soviet Union and Mongolia condemn the undeclared war against Afghanistan and the interference by the forces of imperialism and reaction in the affairs of that nonaligned, independent state. They express solidarity with the DRA people and government, firmly back their efforts in defense of revolutionary gains, and demand an end to all interference by outside forces in the country's affairs. The sides stressed that the realistic path to a settlement of the Afghan situation is provided by the constructive program put forward by the DRA Government, which both countries -- the USSR and the MPR -- support.

The Soviet Union and the MPR will continue to support the DPRK's efforts to seek the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea, the easing of tension in the Korean peninsula and the unification of the country on a peaceful, democratic basis by the Koreans themselves, without any outside interference.

A.A. Gromyko and M. Dugersuren stated that the USSR and Mongolia highly value India's contribution to efforts to preserve peace, security, and stability in Asia and to reduce tension in various parts of the world. Both sides support the nonaligned countries' initiatives on strengthening the foundations of peace and security for Asian and other states, including their proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a peace zone and the immediate convening of a representative international conference for that purpose.

It was also stated that the Soviet Union and the MPR advocate the restoration and development of good-neighborly relations with the PRC on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, which would contribute to improving the situation in Asia and in the world as a whole. The development of relations with the PRC must be effected, of course, without detriment to the interests of third countries.

Both sides advocate the total cessation of Israeli aggression and U.S. armed interference in the Near East and the speediest achievement of an all-embracing and just Near East settlement. They advocated the convening of an international conference on the Near East to be attended by all interested parties, including the PLO, the sole legitmate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

During the discussion of questions related to the situation in different parts of the world, the sides confirmed their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism.

They stressed that in the present situation -- fraught as it is with dangerous complications and the heightened threat of nuclear catastrophe -- there is an urgent need to strengthen the socialist countries' unity and to multiply the efforts of all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace and international security.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the meetings and talks that had been held would contribute to the further development of Soviet-Mongolian relations and close coordination of USSR and MPR policy in the international arena.

MPR 'Satisfaction' Seen

LD301644 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Ulanbaataar, March 30, (MONTSAME) -- Mangalyn Dugersuren, member of the MPRP Central Committee, foreign minister of the MPR, was on a visit of friendship to the Soviet Union from March 27-29 1984 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Talks between member of the MPRP Central Committee, foreign minister of the MPR M. Dugersuren and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, foreign minister of the USSR A.A. Gromyko were held in a cordial atmosphere of full unanimity of views. They discussed the questions of bilateral and also topical international issues.

The sides stressed with satisfaction the dynamic development of Mongolian-Soviet relations based on the firm principles of Marxism-Leninism and sealed with the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. The cooperation between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union in political, economic, cultural and other spheres and their interaction in the international arena are strengthening and developing with every passing year. All this (?serves) the successful implementation of the tasks of communist and socialist construction advanced by the 26th CPSU and 18th MPRP congresses and the cause of peace, security and socialism.

The recent meeting of general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the MPR Yu. Tsedenbal and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee K.U. Chernenko has given a new impetus to the development of Mongolian-Soviet relations. During the meeting the will and resolve of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples were expressed to do everything possible for the further strengthening of Mongolian-Soviet friendship and close cooperation.

During the talks M. Dugersuren and A.A. Gromyko confirmed the unity of the two sides in estimating the international situation aggravated through the fault of the U.S. and NATO aggressive circles, who seek to destroy the existing military-strategic parity, achieve military superiority and forcefully dictate their will to others.

It was pointed out during the meeting that declaring by the United States of a number of regions of the world including the Far East, Southeast Asia and the Pacific as a zone of their so-called "vital interests" is aimed at beefing up their military presence there which poses threat to the security of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Of extreme danger are the U.S. actions to whip up new conflicts in the Asian Continent, to sharply intensify the militarist tendencies in Japan, to actively involve this country into the implementation of Washington's global military plans, and to intensify the military-strategic allience between the United States, Japan and South Korea.

The Mongolian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries pursue the policy of relaxing the international tension, removing the theat of war, promoting peace and equitable international cooperation to counterbalance the imperialist policy of confrontation and unchecked arms race, gross pressure and interference into internal affairs of sovereign states.

The two sides pointed out the significance of the proposal set forth in the speech by K.U. Chernenko on March 2 1984 on code of norms, which should govern the relations among nuclear powers. Reaching of an agreement by nuclear powers on the mutual recognition of such norms and making them obligatory would meet the aspirations of all nations.

MONGOLIAN ARMY POLITICAL WORKERS ARRIVE IN USSR

PM301456 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 84 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Mongolian Political Workers Arrive"]

[Text] A delegation of Mongolian People's Army political workers headed by Lieutenant General (Zh. Balzhiniyam), member of the MPRP Central Committee and chief of the Mongolian People's Army Political Directorate, arrived in the Soviet Union 28 March at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The delegation was met at the airport by Army General A.A. Yepishev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and by other Soviet generals and officers. Major General (D. Bavuu), military and air attache at the Mongolian Embassy in the USSR, was in the reception party.

KHABAROVSK 'FRIENDSHIP' MEETING WITH JAPAN SET

OW011050 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Newsletter from Khabarovsk in "Soviet Far East News" program: "For the Development of Good-Neighborliness"]

[Excerpt] A meeting of representatives of local self-governing bodies, business circles, trading firms, labor unions, and public organizations in the Soviet Eastern Region and Hokkaido of Japan is scheduled in Khabarovsk from 13 to 20 Arpil. This is the first meeting of this kind, and it will be held under the slogan: "For friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in the Far East."

Participants at the meeting will examine the following questions: the role of public opinion in the development of friendship and good-neighborliness in the Far East; regional economic cooperation as an important factor for mutual understanding and confidence-building in the Far East; and the present situation and prospects for development of cooperation in the fisheries sector in the Far East.

After the meeting, members of the Hokkaido delegation will have the opportunity to discuss questions of respective concern, observe the Soviet people's social and cultural life, or visit some cities in the Soviet Union.

Large-scale preparatory work is now under way in Khabarovsk under the charge of a specially established preparatory committee. (Tamara Vasilyeva), deputy chairman of the Khabarovsk Kray Soviet Executive Committee, is its chairperson.

INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR VISIT

LD011436 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS -- Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja, minister of foreign affairs of Indonesia, today arrived here on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Talks With Gromyko

LD020724 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 2 Apr 84

[Text] Moscow April 2 TASS -- Talks began here today between Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. The Indonesian foreign minister arrived in Moscow yesterday on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Mutual Relations Viewed

BK301439 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1330 GMT 29 Mar 84

[Aleksey Yuriyev commentary "Welcoming the Indonesian Foreign Minister's Visit to the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Relations between the Soviet Union and Indonesia are founded on principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, and mutually beneficial cooperation. The significance of this cooperation has been stressed by the political leaders of the two countries. However, it should be pointed out that Soviet-Indonesian relations have not always been without difficulties or temporary setbacks due to all kinds of causes, including outside factors. Nevertheless, there has never been a principled conflict which affected the vital interests of the two countries. Long-range prospects for bilateral relations should be viewed in this context.

Regarding a number of urgent international issues, the Soviet Union and Indonesia share similar or close positions, particularly on matters related to peace, international tension, and the arms race.

In our era, world events are relatively interrelated. There is practically no problem which merely affects, for example, Europe and the United States without having an impact on the urgent interests of the Asian and African countries. Soviet proposals to apply the principles of peaceful coexistence, reduce and completely destroy weapons of mass destruction, and to reduce all types of conventional weapons conform with the needs of peoples in both advanced and developing countries. In developing countries, the rate of military expenditure increases more rapidly than in Western countries. This poses a heavy burden on their economies.

The Soviet Union and Indonesia oppose racism and apartheid, demand the cessation of Israeli aggression in the Middle East, and support restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people and other Arab nations. Our two countries view the Nonaligned Movement as an important factor for maintaining peace and resisting aggression and expansionism.

The Soviet Union fully understands the legitimate demands of the developing countries regarding the establishment of a new international economic order founded on principles of equality and mutual benefit aimed at eliminating different levels of progress inherited from the centuries of colonial exploitation. Therefore it is only natural that the countries in Southeast Asia -- regardless of political system and social orientation -- are interested in security and peace.

The Soviet Union fully understands their eagerness and Soviet leaders time and again have expressed support for peaceful initiatives to pave the way for normalization of the situation in Southeast Asia and to transform this region into a zone of peace and stability. The Soviet Union has called for the maximum reduction or entire elimination of the military presence of the big powers in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific region and for a constructive dialogue aimed at normalizing relations between the Indochina states and ASEAN.

Mutual understanding and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Indonesia on the problem of peace and mutual confidence in the Pacific and Indian Oceans can be attained by taking into account the urgent interests of our countries. Stability is required along all the world's sea lanes. This common stand was reflected at the discussions on the law of the sea.

In the economic sector there is a great imbalance but there is no conflict of interests, let alone rivalry between the two countries. Economic cooperation and trade between the Soviet Union and the developing countries are of great importance and mutually beneficial. There are many examples in this regard -- the Aswan dam, the giant steel mills in India, and the joint ventures processing marine products in Singapore. It is also appropriate to mention Soviet-Indonesian projects, such as the Senayan stadium the Friendship Hospital and the oceanographic faculty in Ambon.

There has been much talk in Indonesia about the need to expand foreign relations, greater freedom in foreign economic contacts and the elimination of special dependence on the capitalist market which is now affected by decline and crisis created by multinational corporations. In this respect there are great prospects for cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Certain prospects have been opened up as a result of the talks held by Soviet Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Grishin in Jakarta. Indonesian Trade Minister Rachmat Saleh on the occasion said that there was great potential for trade between the two countries.

The Soviet Union is awaiting with great interest the visit of Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja. The Soviet people, who foster friendship and sympathy with the Indonesian people, hope that the forthcoming visit will be an important step toward further strengthening the relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between our two countries.

INDOCHINA SUPPORT COMMITTEE MEETS IN MOSCOW

PM300951 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 84 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] A session of the bureau of the Soviet Committee in Support of the Peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea was held in Moscow 26 March. The results of the committee delegation's visit to the SRV, Laos, and the PRK were examined.

It was noted that the meetings and talks with eminent politicians and public figures from those countries are of great importance for further strengthening public cooperation.

The session participants supported the three Indochinese countries' course aimed at easing tension in Southeast Asia and establishing good-neighborly relations with all countries of the region.

The committee's tasks linked with preparing for the Sixth Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) Congress were also discussed.

REPORT ON CEAUSESCU-ZHIVKOV TALKS IN SOFIA

LD302024 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Sofia March 30 TASS -- Bulgaria and Romania declare that they will consistently strive for implementing the proposals contained in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states and the joint statement adopted at the Moscow meeting of the leading party and state figures from socialist countries, which constitute a real basis for ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. This is stressed in a report, circulated here, on the results of an official friendly visit to Bulgaria by general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and his talks with general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov.

The sides expressed concern over the unprecedented deterioration of the international situation, especially in Europe, due to the deployment of new American nuclear missiles. This compelled the Soviet Union to adopt necessary response measures. The leaders of the two countries stressed the need to step up the actions by all peace-loving forces in order to halt the dangerous course of events in the world.

CEAUSESCU CONCLUDES 'FRIENDLY' VISIT TO BULGARIA

LD301926 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Sofia March 30 TASS -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, left Sofia today. He stayed in Bulgaria on a friendly visit. He was seen off at the Sofia airport by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, president of the State Council of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov and other officials.

ZHIVKOV ON 'OFFICIAL VISIT' IN POLAND 2 APR

LD021017 Moscow TASS in English 0954 GMT 2 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw April 2 TASS -- A Bulgarian party and state delegation led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, arrived in Warsaw today on an official visit of frienship. The delegation were welcomed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, and other officials.

CSSR GOVERNMENT STATEMENT SUPPORTING NICARAGUA

LD302052 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Prague March 30 TASS -- The people and the government of Czechoslovakia resolutely condemn the stepping up by imperialist circles of aggressive actions against Nicaragua, which increasingly assume the character of an undeclared war, says a statement released here by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia.

The provocations against the Soviet tanker Lugansk, the trade vessels of other states, that exploded on the mines in Nicaragua's territorial waters, the document says, are acts of international piracy engineered hostile forces out to strangle that country politically and economically, and to prevent its people from building a new and just society. It is an open secret that these forces would not be in a position to launch their provocative actions without the U.S. support.

Moreover, the U.S. Administration itself makes no secret of the fact that it is interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America, and finances and arms mercenaries. The organisation of war games and the dispatching of U.S. naval vessels to the Nicaraguan coast must also be regarded as a component of the strategy designed to intimidate that sovereign state. Such actions are totally at variance with the U.N. Charter.

The people and the Government of Czechoslovakia, says the statement of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, express their solidarity with the just struggle of the Nicaraguan people and are convinced that the other countries of the world community will condemn the sponsors of the hostile actions against Nicaragua.

JOINT CSSR, AUSTRIAN COMMUNIQUE STRESSES ARMS RACE

LD302351 Moscow TASS in English 2254 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Prague March 30 TASS -- Gustav Husak, president of Czechoslovakia, has received here today, Erwin Lanc, Austrian foreign minister, who is staying in Czechoslovakia on an official visit.

During the conversation, the two sides stressed it is necessary that effective efforts be exerted to put an end to the arms race, and create conditions for resuming the process of detente and securing durable peace in Europe and the world over.

Talks between Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak foreign minister, and Erwin Lanc were completed on the same day. In the course of the exchange of opinion, Bohuslav Chnoupek has pointed to the fact that the international situation continues to remain very complicated due to the striving of U.S. imperialism to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries and dictate its will to them. Czechoslovakia could not remain inactive to the threat which emerged following the deployment of the new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Therefore, it took, in the interests of ensuring its defence and security, the corresponding defense measures stemming from the agreement between Czechoslovakia and the USSR of October 1983. The Czechoslovak foreign minister pointed out that the way out of this situation lies in the creation of conditions for negotiations on the principle of equality and equal security.

Erwin Lanc also expressed concern over the worsening of international relations. He stressed that Austria, true to the principles of neutrality and non-alignment, advocates in its foreign policy the efforts aimed at averting the threat of nuclear war, preserving and developing the process of detente, and at taking effective steps in the field of disarmament.

A joint Czechoslovak-Austrian communique, released here today, stresses that both countries favour an urgent end to the arms race in the field of nuclear and all other types of armaments with preserving the military-strategic equilibrium at a lowest possible level.

The ministers stressed the topicality of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. They welcome the opening of the new stage in the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe and expressed the hope that given the constructive approach by all participants in the negotiations, the latter will produce a successful result.

WESTERN EUROPE

KORNIYENKO MEETS UK'S HOWE, ENDS VISIT

LD300745 Moscow TASS in English 0723 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] London March 30 TASS -- Georgiy Korniyenko, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, stayed here on March 28 and 29. He was received and had a conversation with British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and held consultations with secretaries of state for foreign affairs Lady Young and Malcolm Rifkind as well as with a number of other senior executives of the British Foreign Office.

Apart from questions of bilateral relations between the USSR and Britain, the exchange of opinions had as its subject a wide range of international problems, first of all those related to putting an end to the arms race and bringing about disarmament. The Soviet side reiterated during these meetings the Soviet Union's principled position concerning the causes behind the deterioration of the international situation and ways of improving it.

Georgiy Korniyenko also had a conversation with British Commerce Secretary Paul Channon.

Viktor Popov, the USSR's ambassador to Britain, also took part in the consultations.

'CONTRADICTIONS' IN FRANCO-U.S. RELATIONS

PM020840 [Editorial Report] -- Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 30 March 1984 in its First Edition carries on page 5 a 1,600-word Ye. Gusarov report entitled "Difficult Partnership" on the "Results of F. Mitterrand's Visit to the United States." Gusarov asserts that the outward show of "good relations" offered by French President Mitterrand's recent visit to the United States will "deceive few." Gusarov stresses the adverse effects of U.S. financial policy on the French economy and cites Mitterrand's accusation that the United States is waging a "trade war" against France and the EEC in general. Gusarov claims that, under U.S. "pressure," French policy toward the East is "contradictory" since France wants "dialogue" whereas the United States want to "alter the military equilibrium to the Soviet Union's detriment." Gusarov concludes by stating that such "dialogue" presupposes a return to the situation pertaining before the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

HEAD OF NEW SPANISH CP DISCUSSES PEACE STRUGGLE

PM301528 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 84 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Chernyshev dispatch under the general heading "In Fraternal Parties": "Priority Tasks"]

[Text] Madrid, 29 Mar -- The newspaper NUEVO RUMBO, the central organ of the Communist Party (Spain), has published the text of the report which Ignacio Gallego, secretary general of the Communist Party, delivered at the recent Central Committee plenum.

Touching on international problems, I. Gallego declared that the policy of American imperialism is bringing the world to the brink of the nuclear abyss. The military-political strategy being followed by the Reagan administration, which represents the most aggressive circles of capitalism, is aimed at liquidating the political foundations of peaceful coexistence. Clearly for election purposes Reagan is now trying to appear before public opinion not as a militarist but as a champion of dialogue. The maneuver, which they have begun to advertise widely, is nothing but an attempt to accuse the Soviet Union of obstinacy and of rejecting a dialogue on disarmament. In reality, the USSR could not continue talks which were just a diversionary move and which Reagan was conducting exclusively for propaganda purposes.

All U.S. foreign policy, I. Gallego pointed out, is based on a desire for military superiority and on an attempt to talk to the Soviet Union from a position of strength. This strategy leads to the exacerbation of tension and to military confrontation and makes any serious talks impossible.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union is making every effort to secure serious talks. However, the Soviet peace proposals have not been accepted. The only response has been the intensification of imperialism's general rearmament. Under these conditions talks would be nothing but a farce aimed at distracting the attention of public opinion.

The development of international events demands the utmost intensification of the struggle for peace and against the danger of nuclear war, the speaker declared. The struggle for peace is our priority task. Every Communist, every organization, and the entire party as a whole must be militant activists of the movement for peace and for the immediate holding of a referendum in the country during which the Spanish people could vote for Spain's withdrawal from NATO. Securing the country's withdrawal from NATO means promoting international detente, the disbandment of military blocs, and the curbing of imperialists, who are nurturing monstrous plans for supremacy and war. Awareness of the danger posed by the American military bases located on Spanish territory, which are, as U.S. Vice President G. Bush admitted recently, part of the NATO military system, is growing among the Spanish people.

The Spanish people want neither military bases nor NATO.

NETHERLANDS ANTIMISSILE STANCE, TIES WITH NATO

PM020825 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 84 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Deynichenko "International Commentary": "Transatlantic Pressure"]

[Text] It seems that the U.S.-NATO campaign of pressurizing the Netherlands reached its zenith with the arrival of U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger in the Hague 29 March. This country, as is well known, has not as yet given its assent to the siting of the new U.S. medium-range missiles on its territory.

It will be recalled that of the five West European states to which the Pentagon and NATO gave the dubious honor of being a haven for "winged death," only the Netherlands has not taken a final decision in this regard. In accordance with NATO bloc plans, it is planned to deploy 48 Tomahawk cruise missiles on Netherlands soil. In the Netherlands itself, which is in any case crammed with NATO weaponry, these plans have aroused resolute oppositon. Broad strata of the population, trade unions and political parties, and church organizations representing millions of Dutch people have spoken out against the attempts to turn the country into a launchpad for Tomahawks. The mood of the country's inhabitants was reflected by a 500,000-strong antiwar demonstration unprecedented in the country's history that was held in the Hague last November.

Time has not brought any changes to these feelings and has not cooled the ardor of the antimissile demonstrations. Public opinion polls carried out this year show that 63 percent of the country's entire population are against the missile siting, including supporters of the parties making up the present coalition cabinet. The alignment of forces in parliament is such that it is difficult for the political advocates of cruise missiles to count on total support. Both parties in the government coalition (the Christian Democratic Appeal [CDA] and the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) have a formal majority in parliament. However, around 10 CDA deputies are generally recognized opponents of the siting of the missiles and the opposition Labor Party has been against NATO's "two-track decision" from the very start.

It was no accident that W. de Vries, the chairman of the CDA parliamentary faction, thought it necessary to warn the government that he could not be confident of a sufficient majority to approve siting of the missiles on Netherlands soil.

Under these conditions, the present Netherlands Government is understandably in no hurry to take any decision on the missiles. Previous Netherlands cabinets also put off taking a decision.

Having encountered this situation, the Atlantic strategists have unleashed an extensive campaign for working on Netherlander public opinion, essentially intefering in this country's internal affairs. The Netherlanders are being scared with the "Soviet threat," the prospect of a "drop in Netherlands influence in NATO," and finally even with the fact that their refusal to accept cruise missiles will allegedly be a "serious and perhaps fatal blow" to hopes of renewing talks with the Soviet Union on nuclear arms in Europe. Whereas it is clear to every informed person that it was precisely the siting of the new U.S. missiles in Europe that caused the talks to be broken off.

NATO petitioners -- both from overseas and from the Netherlands' neighboring countries -- have been constantly visiting The Hague. Netherlands Cabinet ministers have been repeatedly "invited" to Washington, where, as the press openly admits, "strong pressure was put on the guests" in an attempt to win their assent to NATO's plans. The last "persuader in chief" was outgoing NATO Secretary General Luns who tried without particular success to sway his countrymen in favor of cruise missiles. And now he has been replaced by Pentagon chief Weinberger "himself."

The reasons for the anxiety shown by the NATO bloc leaders in connection with the Netherlands position are obvious. "The NATO leadership," The british newspaper THE GUARDIAN notes, "fear that the Netherlands refusal to site 48 new U.S. medium-range missiles on thier territory will give a new boost to the antiwar movement throughout West Europe." Well, the antimissile movement has indeed become a powerful factor which both NATO and Washington have to consider. But NATO's fuss over the Netherlands also attests to the undisguised U.S. desire to achieve the implementation of its imperial ambitions and build up its nuclear missile arsenals in Europe contrary to the interests of the continent's peoples.

WEINBERGER CONCLUDES VISIT TO NETHERLANDS

Pressure for Deployment

LD301928 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] The Hague March 30 TASS -- U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has completed his visit to the Netherlands after openly hinting that the United States would press this country for consent to the installment of 48 American cruise missiles on Dutch soil.

The Government of the Netherlands in its time made the reservation that it would not consider itself bound by any commitments until it took an own decision the issue. So far, despite the hard pressure of the United States and NATO, it has not given any promises that this decision will be in favour of the missile deployments. It is not ruled out that it will postpone making the final decision again, a possibility arousing the obvious irritation of the American side.

Repercussions, Antimissile Mood

LD312247 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Text] Weinberger, U.S. Secretary of defense, continues his tour of West European countries.

He visited the Netherlands as the first stage of his trip, notes Eduard Kovalev, international affairs journalist. The repercussions from his visit there are still reverberating. In The Hague the Pentagon boss tried in every way to counteract the resistance there to U.S. militarist plans. The Netherlanders are firmly opposed to the deployment of 48 U.S. cruise missiles in that country. Opposed to these plans is also the influential organization Interchurch Peace Council, whose opinion has to be taken into account by the Christian Democratic Party in the present government. The antimissile mood of Netherlands public opinion has direct influence on the disposition of forces in Parliament too, and even in the midst of the right-of-center government. Approximately one half of the deputies, including some influential politicians from the government coalition, are ready in the coming voting to support the resolution of the opposition parties against the deployment of U.S. missiles.

The Washington administration and NATO headquarters are quite concerned about the possibility of having the plans of cruise missile deployment in the Netherlands foiled. Such a development of events worries them primarily because of the political and psychological consequences. If the Netherlands becomes the first to back out of the notorious NATO two-track solution on missile deployment, then the peace movement in Europe will no doubt gain fresh momentum, particularly in countries like the FRG and neighboring Belgium, which will soon have to take its own decision regarding the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles. So the NATO allies are intensifying pressure on the Netherlands. However, the closer the deadline for taking the final decision, which is in June, the greater are the chances that the Netherlands parliament will vote against the deployment of the planned quantity of U.S. missiles on the country's territory.

The Netherlands Government is now engaged in a search for a compromise solution that would satisfy the majority of parliament members. According to some options, the number of deployed missiles would be reduced to 32, or even to 16 units. However, this so-called compromise does not satisfy the peace supporters in the Netherlands. The powerful peace movement there finds this number game absurd. Many Western observers, analyzing the situation emerging around the coming debate in the Netherlands parliament, point out that the outcome of this struggle could quite possibly be unfavorable to the realization of U.S. and NATO plans for missile deployment. But even if -- under pressure from across the ocean -- a majority of Netherlands parliamentarians does vote for missile deployment, the struggle -- in the peace supporters' view -- would be far from over.

'Stepping Up Pressure'

LD010821 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS -- "The Government and parliament of the Netherlands have not yet consented to the deployment of 48 U.S. cruise missiles intended for that country," SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA says. "As the deadline for taking decision on that matter, this June, is drawing closer, the USA and NATO are stepping up pressure on them. Dutch leaders are every now and then 'invited' for talks to Washington."

"Recently the Pentagon chief, Caspar Weinberger, blessed the Hague with a lightning visit. His statements threw light on many problems.

"Weinberger claimed that it was necessary to deploy the missiles in order to prompt the Soviet Union to resume the talks on medium-range weapons. In reality there is nothing farther from the truth. The world at large has already realised that having gone ahead with the deployment of first-strike missiles in Europe, the United States frustrated the Geneva talks. As a consequence, the Duth newspaper TROUW says, NATO's strategy has turned out to be a fiasco."

"The Pentagon chief demanded the implementation of the NATO plan for the deployment of missiles, which is presumably vital," the newspaper points out. "As for the Netherlands, the turning of its territory into a U.S. nuclear staging area -- that is, if it accepts the 'gift' from the other side of the ocean -- would pose a threat to the security of the Soviet Union and its allies with all the consequences of that fact.

"The U.S. President is fond of striking the posture of protector of the interests of the peoples. Why then does Washington ignore the will of its ally, striving to protect itself from nuclear catastrophe with which the deployment of missiles is fraught? According to a recent public opinion poll, more than 60 percent of the Dutch do not want U.S. nuclear missiles in their territory.

"The participants in the struggle against missiles realise that if the Netherlands refrains from accommodating first strike missiles target at the Soviet Union, it will make a contribution towards creating proper conditions for the talks," "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA" stresses.

GREEKS PROTEST WEINBERGER OFFICIAL VISIT

LD301813 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Athens March 30 TASS -- U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger arrived in the Greek capital on an official two-day visit today. He came to Athens from Holland where he had attempted to exert pressure on the Dutch Government and members of parliament in a bid to wring their consent to the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in their country. Observers expect that in Athens the Washington emissary will again raise the issue of "shoring up NATO's south-eastern flank". AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE pointed out that his topics in Greece will also include the problem of the future of the American military bases in this country, which are, in accordance with a five-year agreement signed last year, to be closed down 17 months after the expiration of its term. On the day of Weinberger's arrival to the Greek capital a demonstration was held at the Athens airport to demand an immediate dismantling of the U.S. bases in Greek territory.

Massive Demonstrations

LD311407 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Text] Athens March 31 TASS -- U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger is staying here on an official visit. His arrival was marked by massive anti-war demonstrations protesting against the incumbent U.S. Administration's militarist policy. The thousands-strong protest demonstrations and rallies, keynoted by the slogans: "U.S. defense secretary, go home", "No to American diktat", "Down with American bases", "Down with NATO" and "Americans, get out immediately" and others, were held in many Greek cities.

Meetings; Minister on Bases

LD911449 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] Athens April 1 TASS -- The Pentagon chief, Caspar Weinberger, has made another attempt to put pressure on Greece. During his two days of talks in Athens with Greek President Constantinos Karamanlis, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and other government officials, he emphasised the need to strengthen NATO's southeastern flank. He sought preservation of American military bases on the country's territory after the expiry of a five-year Greek-American agreement on the status of these bases.

In this connection news agencies draw attention to a statement made at a press conference here by Greece's Deputy National Defence Minister Andonios Dhrosoyiannis who declared that the American military bases "are totally useless for Greece and serve only the interests of the United States." He also stressed that "the Greek Government will not allow the United States to use the country's territory for deploying American units from the Rapid Deployment Forces, which can be used in the Middle East region during a crisis." This also applies to the U.S. military bases on Greek territory, Dhrosoyiannis said.

Athens, Salonika and Patras saw demonstrations of protest against the Pentagon chief's trip to Greece and his attempts at interference in the country's internal affairs and pressure on the Greek Government.

The U.S. secretary of defence left Athens for Izmir, Turkey, to attend a session of the NATO nuclear planning group. The central issue of the discussion there will be the question of implementing peace-endangering nuclear-missile decisions adopted by the NATO council and opposing the mounting world-wide movement of protest against the deployment of American first-strike nuclear missiles on the territory of some Western European countries.

Bases Seen 'Useless'

LD312123 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Text] Athens March 31 TASS -- "The Government of Greece will not allow the United States to deploy in the country's territory American units belonging to the Rapid Deployment Force, which is to be used in the Middle East in the event a crisis situation emerges there," a press conference was told by Andonios Dhrosoyiannis Greece's deputy national defence minister, after his meeting with U.S. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, who is currently on a visit in Athens.

Touching upon the presence in Greece's territory of four big American military bases, A. Dhrosoyiannis stressed that they are "absolutely useless" for Greece and serve only the interests of the United States. Their dismantling, which is envisaged by the Greek-American agreement, as signed last September will not create any difficulties for Greece's defence, he pointed out.

KUZNETSOV MEETS ITALIAN DELEGATION FROM ASSISI

LD301458 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Excerpts] Moscow March 30 TASS -- In the current, deteriorated international situation all people of goodwill should use any opportunity for creating an obstacle to the arms race and nuclear catastrophe, said Vasiliy Kuznetsov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He was receiving a delegation of the municipality of the city of Assisi and representatives of the Franciscan order in the Kremlim today.

"In the USSR we have felt with all our hearts that the Soviet people sincerely want peace" said Assisi Mayor Gianfranco Costa. "When we were laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall and paying homage to the memory of the Soviet troops, killed in the years of World War II, in the morning today, we felt especially keenly the sanctity of the moment and realized once more how important it is to struggle even more vigorously for war never to recur again. All our efforts in the name of peace," he stressed, "are directed at facilitating mutual understanding and strengthening good-neighbour relations among all nations."

CPSU OFFICIAL MEETS SWISS PARTY LEADER IN GENEVA

LD262117 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 26 Mar 84

[Text] Geneva, 26 Mar (TASS) -- A meeting was held in Geneva today between Armand Magnin, secretary general of the Swiss Labor Party, and B.I. Stukalin, head of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee. They exchanged views on the struggle of the two parties for the preservation of peace and disarmament and on relations between the CPSU and the Swiss Labor Party. The meeting was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

FINNISH CP LEADERS ASSAILED FOR VIEWS ON ARTICLE

PM291024 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 84 First Edition p 5

[A. Nikolayev commentary: "Strange Position"]

[Text] A short while ago the Soviet weekly ZA RUBEZHOM published an article about the resistance encountered by the anticommunist campaign in Finland.

The article generated considerable response. It is no secret for the Finnish public that for many years now the right-wing forces have been striving to inflame differences within the Finnish Communist Party [SKP], divert the party from its class path, and weaken the Communist movement on Finnish soil. According to their schemes, this is the way to undermine the positions of the country's true democratic forces and create preconditions for shaking the present stable foreign policy course aimed at Finnish friendship with the Soviet Union. The statement made a few years ago at a Helsinki press conference by former CIA staffer P. Agee is typical in this connection. The CIA's basic goals in Finland are, in his words, to hinder the SKP's growing influence and obstruct the development of Finland's relations with the Soviet Union. There is not even the slightest hint the people on the other side of the ocean have now given up the pursuit of these goals.

Finland's democratic forces have noted that the ZA RUBEZHOM article casts objective light on the difficulties which the Finnish Communists have encountered over the last few years. As regards the Finnish right-wing circles and their press, the article threw them in confusion: after all, there was essentially nothing to which they could have objected.

Against this background, the position taken publicly by eminent SKP figures -- its General Secretary Arno Aalto and its former Chairman Aarne Saarinen -- is, to say the least, strange. They have essentially spoken out in defense of the "aggrieved" anticommunist forces. A. Aalto told the right-wing newspapers that the article is "groundless," while A. Saarinen actually said that ZA RUBEZHOM has exaggerated the anticommunist trend in the actions of the Finnish and foreign reaction which are aimed at undermining the SKP's positions and its unity.

The following question automatically arises: Who stands to benefit from the stances adopted by these comrades?

CPSU-Finnish CP Disagreements

LD301505 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1323 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Helsinki, March 30 (TANJUG) -- The Finnish Communist Party (FCP) has not yet officially reacted to an attack on its Secretary-General Arno Aalto and former Chairmen Aarne Saarinen published in the Soviet daily PRAVDA.

Unofficially, however, it is said here that Moscow's attack on the PRAVDA's officials means that the Soviet party (CPSU) openly supports the minority dogmatic faction within the FCP.

Aalto and Saarinen have for years advocated the Euro-communist line in the FCP.

A month ago the Soviet weekly ZA RUBEZHOM published an article in which it claimed that anti-communist forces are in the ascendant in Finland, to which Aalto and Saarinen replied that the claim was an exaggeration. PRAVDA then criticised Finnish Communists for "taking the anti-communist forces in their country under their protection" by identifying their stands with the new strategy of the bourgeoisie.

PRAVDA did not cite Aalto's and Saarinen's stands but merely conveyed their assessment that the ZA RUBEZHOM article was an exaggeration.

The Soviet attack on Aalto and Saarinen comes as the FCP prepares to hold its congress from May 25-26. The FCP has been divided for decades into two currents: the majority led by Aalto and Saarinen and the minority dogmatic faction.

Sources in Helsinki say that a high-level Soviet party delegation will arrive in the Finnish capital in mid-April.

CPSU GREETINGS TO NORWEGIAN CP CONGRESS

PM012013 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 84 First Edition p 1

[Text] To the Norwegian Communist Party Central Committee

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the Communists of the Soviet Union, we send warm fraternal greetings to the delegates to the 18th Norwegian Communist Party Congress and to all members of your party, and we wish you success in the congress' work.

Your congress is taking place in conditions of increased international tension, which is the result of the senseless and adventurist actions of the aggressive forces of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. The unprecedented arms race unleashed by the United States and its attempt to pursue a policy of diktat vis-a-vis other states and to create centers of armed conflicts in various regions of the world increase the threat of war. The stationing of the new U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles now under way in a number of West European countries has been particularly dangerous for the cause of peace. Attempts to use Norwegian territory in aggressive U.S. and NATO plans are being intensified.

People in the Soviet Union follow with a feeling of profound sympathy the active demonstrations of the Communists and all Norway's peace-loving forces for peace, against the nuclear danger, and for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

People in our country remember well the joint struggle of Soviet servicemen and Norwegian patriots against fascism and for the freedom and independence of our peoples.

Soviet Communists know that the Norwegian Communist Party consistently supports a policy of reducing international tension, favors detente and peaceful cooperation among peoples, and condemns anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The CPSU and the Soviet state will continue to persistently pursue a principled foreign policy course aimed at curbing the arms race, ridding mankind of the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe, and maintaining and consolidating universal peace.

We wish the Norwegian Communist Party success in consolidating its ranks on a Marxist-Leninist and internationalist foundation, expanding the party's influence among the working people, and fighting for their social and democratic rights and for peace throughout the world.

Long live the Norwegian Communist Party!

May the fraternal friendship between the CPSU and the Norwegian Communist Party strengthen and may good-neighborliness and cooperation between our countries and peoples develop!

Long live peace and socialism!

CPSU Central Committee

FRG SUBMARINE COLLIDES WITH DANISH TRAWLER

LD302036 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Bonn March 30 TASS -- The DPA news agency reports from Copenhagen that a West German submarine collided in the Skagerrak Strait with a Danish fishing trawler which sank immediately. Three fishermen died.

It is also reported that the submarine, built at the "Howaldtswerke Deutsche Werft" shipyard in Kiel (the FRG) is intended for the Navy of the fascist Pinochet regime in Chile. The sub is on a training voyage off the coast of Denmark.

Examining the sub, the Danish police discovered, on its body, traces of the steel ropes with which the trawler's net was fixed.

Copenhagen March 30 TASS -- The Danish press writes with indignation that the West German submarine committed an act of piracy; it did not even choose to surface and did not provide assistance to sailors in distress. Moreover, it tried to get away from the scene of the incident. The newspaper BERLINGSKE TIDENDE cites the following statement by a Danish naval officer: "The captain of the submarine is responsible for the scuttling of the vessel. The fact is that the crew of the sub which was in an underwater position would have immediately heard the impact." In condemning the criminal behavior of the West German sub, the newspaper EXTRA BLADET describes the incident as a "murder in cold blood".

OFFICIAL END OF U.S. PARTICIPATION IN MNF NOTED

LD311012 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Text] Washington March 31 TASS -- President Reagan has officially notified the Congress that the United States terminates its participation in the so-called "multinational peace-keeping force in Lebanon". Thus the head of the White House confirmed after the event an accomplished fact -- the pull-out of Marine units that constituted the backbone of the "multi-national force" to the ships of the Sixth Fleet.

In his message to Congress the President had to admit that the policy of military interference in the affairs of Lebanon has cost the United States dearly and resulted in a loss of life.

At the same time the President made it utterly clear that he does not intend to abandon the adventuristic course in Lebanon. He emphasised, in particular, that the United States' foreign-policy interests in Lebanon have not changed, and hinted that the Marines can return to Lebanon at any moment ostensibly to protect American military and diplomatic personnel.

BRUTENTS HEADS DELEGATION TO LEBANON, SYRIA

Report on Departure

LD310911 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1730 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] A CPSU delegation left Moscow today for Syria and Lebanon. The delegation is led by Deputy Chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee Karen Brutents, at the invitation of the Syrian Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, the Lebanese Communist Party and the Lebanese Socialist Progressive Party.

Arrival in Beirut

NC311554 Beirut Domestic Service in English 1520 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Text] Khalil Makkawi, the Foreign Ministry acting secretary general, conferred by telephone today with the Soviet charge d'affaires on arrangements for meetings of the special Soviet envoy with Foreign Minister Salim and other officials.

The Soviet envoy, who is the deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, arrived in Beirut today at the head of a Soviet delegation for talks on the Lebanese crisis.

Brutents Meets With Junblatt

LD010738 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] A delegation of the Soviet Communist Party is visiting Lebanon. It is led by Karen Brutents, a deputy chief of the International Department of the party's Central Committee. Yesterday, the delegation had a friendly meeting with the chairman of Lebanon's Progressive Socialist Party, Walid Junblatt. Major significance was attached to the abrogation of the shackling Lebanese-Israeli accord and to the withdrawal of the so-called Multinational Force from Lebanon. Participants in the meeting noted that the way to settling internal Lebanese problems lay through a nationwide dialogue.

Lebanese Reportage

For Lebanese coverage on the visit of Karen Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and his accompanying delegation to Lebanon, including reports on his talks with Foreign Minister Elie Salim, Progressive Socialist Party leader Walid Junblatt, Amal Movement leader Nabih Birri, and other officials, see the Lebanon section of the 2 April Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

IRAQ, IRAN STEPPING UP MILITARY ACTIONS

LD302311 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1948 GMT 30 Mar 84

[From "The World Today" program presented by Boris Kalyagin]

[Excerpt] Observers suggest that the Iraqi leadership is extending military operations so as to force Tehran to agree to peace negotiations. There is information showing that Iran is preparing a major new offensive on the southern front in the Basra region. The Iranian command has concentrated over half a million men there and is stepping up military pressure, taking no account of casualties.

Such a turn of events is fraught with dangerous consequences. Apart from the huge losses being incurred by both countries, the conflict is exerting a serious negative influence on the international situation as a whole. The Reagan administration is using it as a pretext to justify stepping up its militarist preparations in the Persian Gulf region.

Battle Claims Cited

LD010934 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] Baghdad April 1 TASS -- According to a communique of the supreme military command of Iraq, yesterday the Iraqi Air Force delivered strikes at enemy positions and air defences to the east of Basra, in the areas of Gilan-e Gharb and Sar-e Pol-E Zahab, and also in the central section of the front. Iraqi planes made 185 sorties during that day. Assault helicopters and land troops also took part in attacks on the positions of the Iranian forces. According to the communique, the enemy suffered heavy losses in manpower, materiel and weapons. All the Iraqi planes returned to their air fields.

Iranian artillery shelled Basra, Mandali and Al-Hajj Shuhayb. Several civilians were wounded and civilian projects damaged.

Nicosia April 1 TASS -- The news agency IRNA reports from Tehran that the Iranian Air Force shot down two Iraqi planes to the east of Basra. According to the news agency, there are civilian casualties as a result of the raids of the Iraqi Air Force on Gilan-e Gharb.

ETHIOPIA'S MENGISTU CONCLUDES VISIT TO MOSCOW

30 March Activities

LD301352 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] The working, friendly visit to our country by Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia, and of the Commission for Organizing the Party of Working People of Ethiopia, is continuing. Today Mengistu Haile Mariam visited the mausoleum of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, and laid a wreath. He honored the memory of the creator of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and founder of the world's first socialist state with a minute's silence. The guest paid a tribute of deep respect to the Soviet soldiers who fell in the years of the Great Patriotic War in the struggle against fascism, for peace and happiness of peoples. He laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Greetings to Chernenko

LD011804 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 1 Apr 84

["Mengistu Haile Mariam Sends Message From the Plane" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS -- Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia and the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, has sent a message to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko.

It says: "On the completion of the working friendly visit to the Soviet Union, I would like to use the occasion in order to express gratitude and appreciation for the warm, friendly reception and hospitality accorded to me and the whole delegation during our stay in the Soviet Union. The extensive and detailed conversations with you and other Soviet comrades enabled me to set forth our view on several issues which give us a cause for grave concern. We are rather satisfied with the fact that these conversations were held in the spirit of complete mutual understanding and cordiality, which was facilitated by your understanding of our problems. That is why I am leaving the great land of Lenin with good feelings and profound satisfaction. Long live the great people of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!"

Talks Reviewed

EA312112 Moscow in Amharic to Ethiopia 1530 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The leader of Socialist Ethiopia, Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, has completed his friendly vorking visit to the USSR. During his visit, talks were held at the Kremlin between Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam and Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and other Soviet leaders. The two leaders expressed their happiness that the relations between the USSR and Socialist Ethiopia were being widened and called for relations to be strengthened.

In the name of the Ethiopian people, Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam expressed thanks to the CPSU and the Government of the USSR for the substantial aid being given to develop Ethiopia's economy and to strengthen her defense capability.

During the talks heavy emphasis was given to international issues. It has been affirmed that the two countries hold identical stands and opinions on the cause of the current dangerous situation in the world. The main source of the aggravated situation is the (?aggression against all) policy followed by the forces of American imperialism. These forces, apart from advancing down the road of war to attain superiority over the world, are currently escalating the unprecedented arms race. They further aggravate the world situation and interfere in the internal affairs of independent countries. The policies pursued by imperialists are causing heavy suffering among the people of Africa and the world.

The leaders of the USSR and Ethiopia exchanged views on the situation in Africa and gave special emphasis to the situation in the region of the Horn of Africa. The two leaders pointed out that the imperialist governments led by America, apart from putting pressure on African countries, are also interfering in the internal affairs of African countries by forcing them to participate in their dangerous plans of aggression. The USSR and Social Ethiopia condemned imperialist plans to make the Continent of Africa the arena of political and warlike confrontation.

Speaking on the complex situation in southern Africa, the two leaders pointed out that with the support of the United States the racist South African regime is currently violating the UN Security Council resolution on granting independence to Namibia. The leaders of the two countries pointed out that since the racists are carrying out blatant aggression against neighbouring African countries it is necessary to guarantee the security of these countries; to enable the people of Namibia to consolidate their freedom and independence; and to ensure the eradication of the offensive by the apatheid regime.

As USSR leader Konstantin Chernenko revealed, the USSR gives substantial support to Angola, Mozambique, and the frontline states and to people struggling to liberate southern Africa from colonialism and racism. The USSR does not desire anything that opposes the wishes of Africans in Africa. On the contrary, the USSR vehemently condemns efforts by some forces to assert that Africa or some parts of Africa are places where the exclusive interests of foreigners are vested. The USSR has always called for and still calls for peace in Africa. On this issue, the USSR gives special consideration to Socialist Ethiopia's basic stand and to its contribution to the struggle for peace and security for the people.

The talks held between the leaders of the USSR and Ethiopia revolved around friendship, work and mutual understanding.

USSR-Ethiopian Ties Applauded

LD310956 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Commentary by Gennadiy Vedenyapin]

[Text] As imperialist states step up the policy of pressure on African countries and try to draw them into their far-reaching militaristic plans, as neocolonialism strives to choke the independent countries of Africa with the tight noose of economic dependence Soviet-Ethiopian relations remain an example for all developing states. These relations show the real alternative to the enslavement which imperialist powers dream of foisting on countries of Asia, Africa , and Latin America. The fruitfulness of the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia, which have been developing particularly intensively since the overthrow of the monarchy, has found concrete expression in many areas; the strengthening of the Ethiopian economy's industrial basis with aid from our country, the assistance in agricultural development, the elimination of illiteracy, training of national cadres, and, finally, consolidation of Ethiopia's defense capability.

In short, cooperation with the Soviet Union has allowed it to step up its forward progress to a significant extent. And this, particularly taking into consideration the equal, mutually advantageous nature of Soviet-Ethiopian relations, makes them even more attractive in the eyes of the peoples of developing states.

By contrast to the policy of Washington and its allies, our approach to African problems is principled and open, said Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, at a dinner in the Kremlin. We do not pursue any interests that would run counter to the aspirations of the Africans themselves. At the same time, we are firmly against turning this continent into an arena of global, political, or, even worse, military confrontation, stressed the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Our country comes out unfailingly for the improvement of the whole political situation in Africa, and we are confident that there are no problems there which cannot be settled at the negotiating table. At the same time, the decisive role in this process must belong to the African states themselves.

Meanwhile, the United States and some of its allies, for which countries maintaining a socialist orientation, like Ethiopia, are objects of particular hostility, to this day are trying to foist their diktat on the peoples of Africa. Washington's high-handedness hits one particularly in the south of the continent, where with its complicity the racists of the Republic of South Africa disregard the will of the United Nations and perpetrate acts of unconcealed aggression.

At a disturbing time for the black continent, independent Africa welcomes the words of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that the Soviet Union continues to come out firmly in support of Angola, Mozambique, and other frontline states, as well as of fighters for the liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism, with particular gratitude.

PRAVDA Profiles Mengistu

PM291534 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 84 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On His Visit to the Soviet Union; Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia and of the Commisssion for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia]

[Text] Today Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and the Commission for Organization the Party of the Working People of Ehtiopia (COPWE), arrives in Moscow on a working friendly visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Mengistu Haile Mariam was born in 1941. He is a graduate of the military training center in Ethiopia, of officer retraining courses abroad, and also of Addis Ababa University's department of economics.

He participated actively in the underground antimonarchy movement in the army. As chairmant of the coordinating committee of the armed forces, police, and territorial army, he headed the Ethiopian Armed Forces' revolutionary uprising against the feudal monarchist regime in 1974. After the overthrow of the emperor in Ethiopia the coordinating committee was transformed into the PMAC, which became the collective head of state.

Mengistu Haile Mariam was elected chairman of the PMAC in February 1977. He is also chairman of the Council of Ministers, commander in chief of Socialist Ethiopia's revolutionary army, and chairman of the Supreme Central Planning Council in December 1979, which proclaims as its aim the creation of a vanguard party guided by the principles of scientific socialism.

Under Mengistu Haile Mariam's leadership progressive transformations in various spheres are being implemented in the country in the interests of the working people's masses.

Socialist Ethiopia pursues an anti-imperialist, anticolonialist course, actively favors the strengthening of peace and international security, supports the peoples' national liberation struggle, and advocates the strengthening of African unity. In 1983 Mengistu Haile Mariam was elected chairman of the OAU.

Ethiopia's Government pursues a policy of friendship and all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, A Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between the USSR and Socialist Ethiopia was concluded in November 1978.

Mengistu Haile Mariam makes a great personal contribution to the development of Soviet-Ethiopian relations. He has repeatedly visited the Soviet Union at the head of official delegations.

Mengistu Haile Mariam has been awarded the title Hero of Socialist Ethiopia as well as a number of other Ethiopian and foreign decorations. In 1980 he was awarded the Order of the October Revolution.

Soviet people cordially greet Mengistu Haile Mariam and through him the friendly Ethiopian people and express the confidence that the visit will serve the cause of further developing friendship and fruitful cooperation between the peoples of the two countries.

ALIYEV, KUZNETSOV, OTHERS HONOR SEKOU TOURE

LD291048 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 29 Mar 84

[Text] The editorial board has received a TASS report:

Today Comrade Aliyev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Kuznetsov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Ulyanovskiy, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Ilichev, deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs; Comrade Nikiforov, head of a department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited the Embassy of the Guinean People's Revolutionary Republic in Moscow in connection with the death of Ahmed Sekou Toure, general secretary of the Democratic Party of Guinea, president of the Guinea People's Revolutionary Republic, and signed the book of condolences.

POLITBURO MEETS 30 MAR, DISCUSSES AGRO-INDUSTRY

LD301837 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] At the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee: At its latest session the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee heard reports by ministers, Comrades Yezhevskiy, Belyak, Polakov and Khitrun about the progress being made in fulfilling decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to increase production and raise the technical standard and quality of agricultural machinery. Certain positive advances have been made in this work in recent years. There has been higher comparative growth in the production of highly efficient equipment. The rate of reconstruction and construction of agricultural engineering enterprises has been accelerated. Progressive ways of using the pool of machinery and tractors have begun to be introduced more broadly.

However, as a whole the level of organization of production and assimilation of new equipment for agriculture still does not match up to the tasks that have been set. There are serious shortcomings in the implementation of technical policy, the quality of manufactured output, servicing, overhaul and storage of equipment and commissioning of capacities for the output of agricultural equipment, and especially machinery for soil protection and industrial methods of crop production, grain farming and fodder production. Certain party committees, in particular Altay Kraykom and the Buryat, Zaporozhye, Kirovograd, Mogilev, Tula and Tselinograd Obkoms are not as exacting as they should be in this matter. Their organizational work is still inadequate. Their supervision of the implementation of policies and work to strengthen discipline in production is poor.

A decision adopted by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee outlines practical measures to intensify the work of central and local organs connected with the development of agricultural engineering, raising production and supplies of equipment during 1984-90, and increasing in all ways the efficiency of the use of this equipment by kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The Politburo examined measures to further improve the safekeeping of socialist property in the agro-industrial complex. A decision adopted on this question stresses the importance of ensuring the safekeeping of socialist property on kolkhozes and sovkhozes and at other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex. It outlines a system of measures to impose rigorous order in the auditing, storage and consumption of valuable materials and to campaign relentlessly against the theft and squandering of agricultural produce, construction materials, fuel and lubricants, and other materials.

In connection with the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress on the establishment of a USSR code of laws, the Politburo examined measures to further improve economic legislation and legislation on the work of law enforcement organs.

The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee approved proposals connected with the preparation and adoption of a clause on the state anthem of the Soviet Union, and also discussed certain other questions of the country's domestic affairs and foreign policy.

CHERNENKO OBSERVED LEAVING KREMLIN HOSPITAL

NC020859 Paris AFP in English 0856 GMT 2 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow, April 2 (AFP) -- Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko, who is known to have breathing problems, was seen leaving the Kremlin hospital here shortly after midday yesterday.

A Western diplomat said the 72-year old party secretary walked unaided to his car and seemed in good shape but "rather pale".

The diplomat said Mr Chernenko's visit could be linked to the unexplained absence of Prime Minister Nikolay Tikhonov, who has not been seen in public since March 7.

"It's not a suitable time for a medical check-up but rather a time to visit someone on a Sunday afternoon", he said.

Mr Tikhonov will be 79 in May. There have been reports indicating that he is ill.

Mr Chernenko, elected on February 13, is believed by Western doctors to suffer from emphysema. He was absent twice last year for a total of three months and is reported to have had pleurisy.

CHERNENKO MESSAGE TO FRANCISCANS EXPANDED

LD301343 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 30 Mar 84

[For preliminary reportage on Chernenko's message, please see the 30 Mar Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p R 14]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS -- Follows the text of Konstantin Chernenko's reply to a delegation of the municipality of the City of Assisi and representatives of the Franciscan Order:

"It is with great attention that I familiarized myself with your message, which expresses anxious and genuine concern about the fate of peace, about the peaceful future of all mankind.

"The Soviet and Italian people, the working people and the people of goodwill in all countries share the same desire, that to turn back the threat of another war, save humanity from thermonuclear catastrophe, preserve and develop modern civilization and turn it, as you point out justly in your message, into a civilization of peace.

"The activities of the anti-war movement in Italy and the active involvement in it of members of various public and political circles, including members of Catholic organizations and working Catholics, are known in the Soviet Union. Communists and Catholics as is known, hold different philosophical views. But this does not prevent us from jointly struggling for peace when the world has found itself in serious danger.

"The threat of nuclear war really grows as a result of the started deployment of new American missiles in Europe and the sharp increase in the activity of the forces of imperialism, which is openly seeking strategic military superiority over the USSR and world domination.

"More and more people on Earth today are coming to realize the danger of the present march of events, jeopardizing the very existence of mankind. They are not only coming to realize it but also trying vigorously to counter it. This is a manifestation of the instinct of self-preservation, which is natural both in every person and in every nation. Today it is becoming embodied in concrete actions -- the impressive protest movement involving millions of people. They are opposed to the reckless, short-sighted actions of those politicians, who do not realize or do not want to realize how criminal their banking on the uncontrolled and continual buildup of means of exterminating people is.

"And this inspires the hope that the current situation in the world can be rectified -- rectified by the joint efforts of state authorities and citizens, irrespective of their political, religious and philosophical views, social status or partisanship. There is no goal loftier than that of preserving humankind. There is no task more important than that of working for the dreams of a lasting peace and of popular well-being and prosperity not to remain just a wonderful Utopia. The road to this is not easy but obvious -- it is that of renouncing confrontation, firmly embarking on the path of detente, cooperation and peaceful coexistence, and setting out radically to reduce armaments on the principles of equality and equal security.

"We believe, just as we did before, that not a single opportunity, not a single chance should be missed for returning to the path of talks. The people of European countries, broad public circles are called upon to play an ever greater role in this.

"Using this opportunity, I ask you to tell the Italian people that the Soviet Union will continue following a policy of peace, detente and friendship among nations and will struggle actively to terminate the arms race, first of all the nuclear race.

"I wish success to all participants in the Italian anti-war movement and its various sections in their campaign to ward off the nuclear threat and deliver Europe and all our planet from the clouds of nuclear danger."

KUNAYEV ADDRESSES ALMA-ATA AWARD CEREMONY

LD301352 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 84 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Glorious Traditions and a Bright Present. Presentation of the Order of Lenin to Alma-Ata"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 23 Mar -- The capital of Soviet Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata, shines brightly in the constellation of our country's cities. Its population of more than 1 million is rightly proud of the glorious past, steeped in revolutionary traditions, and the swift and multifaceted present-day development of their city. Each year of the 11th 5-Year Plan has been marked by great new achievements in all spheres of the socioeconomic and cultural life of the people of Alma-Ata. Labor collectives, inspired by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1984) Plenum, have launched widespread competition for an above-plan labor productivity increase and an additional reduction in the prime cost of output and are waging a struggle to further strengthen discipline and enhance everyone's responsibility for the work entrusted to him.

The city of Alma-Ata has been awarded the Order of Lenin for the city working people's great services in the revolutionary movement, their contribution to the victory in the Great Patriotic War, and their successes in economic and cultural construction. A meeting of the party gorkom and city soviet was held on 23 March to celebrate the event. It was attended by representatives of party, soviet and public organizations, the city's working people and troops of the Alma-Ata Garrison.

An honorary presidium comprising the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade K.U. Chernenko was enthusiastically elected.

Warmly greeted by the meeting participants, D.A. Kunayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, made a speech. He conveyed to the meeting ardent congratulations and best wishes from CPSU Central Committee General Secretary K.U. Chernenko in connection with the high award.

On behalf of the participants of the celebratory meeting and all working people of the republic, D.A. Kunayev expressed cordial gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko for the high assessment of the labor and achievements of the working people of Kazakhstan's capital and gave assurances that the people of Alma-Ata and all the people of Kazakhstan will provide themselves worthy of the motherland's award.

The speaker went on to say: It is highly symbolic that the Order of Lenin is being presented to the city at the important time when our beloved motherland is embarking on the second half of the 11th 5-Year Plan.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1984) Plenum and the propositions and conclusions contained in Comrade K.U. Chernenko's plenum speech and his speech to the voters encounter a sincere response among the working people and inspire them to earnest and great deeds. It is gratifying that the efforts of the people of Alma-Ata and of all Soviet Kazakhstan's working people are confidently merging with the stream of the creative labor of the country as a whole. This is natural, for we all have a common purpose: to do as much as well as we can, to live as worthy a life as possible, and to increase our contribution to implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and 15th Kazakh Communist Party Congress.

On this memorable day we can all rightly say that the heroic and splendid history of Alma-Ata -- warrior-city and worker-city -- has reflected as if in a drop of mountain water all the epoch-making achievements that have taken place through the will of Lenin's party in the ancient Kazakh land.

Separated from the center of Russia by thousands of versts of bad roads, the city of Vernyy was not only an appalling backwater, but also a place of tsarist exile where the progressive ideas of inviolable unity between the Kazakh and Russian peoples and of their joint action against oppressors of all kins matured and steadily strengthened.

The Vernyy proletariat performed considerable revolutionary services. Back in 1905 they held political strikes, rallies, and demonstrations and took the word of Lenin to the people's masses. The vigorous actions of the people of Vernyy against tsarism merged with the 1916 national liberation movement, which, in turn, was an integral part of the the all-Russian revolutionary process.

In early March 1918 armed working people of the city deposed the White Cossack dictatorship and together with the troops and cossacks of the Vernyy Garrison established Soviet power. There began the new, socialist period, ushered in by the great Lenin and the mighty, all-conquering party -- intellect, honor, and conscience of our era -- that was created and nurtured by him.

Vladimor Ilich Lenin was deeply concerned about the fate of our city. When the city was hit by a serious natural disaster in 1921, Lenin took personal charge of the emergency measures to aid Vernyy.

The lives and struggle of M.V. Frunze, D.A. Furmanov, P.M. Vionogradov, T. Bokin, A.T. Dzhangildin, U. Dzhandosov, T. Ryskulov, L.P. Yemelev, G. Murathayev, and many others are closely associated with Alma-Ata will never forget that M.I. Kalinin, S.M. Kirov, V.V. Kuybyshev, K.Ye. Voroshilov, L.I. Brezhnev, and other eminent figures of the Communist Party and Soviet state knew their city well and gave every assistance in its formation and development.

D.A. Kunayev noted the tremendous contribution made by the enthusiasts of the first prewar 5-year plans to the development of the city and the reorganization of life on socialist principles. He stressed that Alma-Ata, which became the capital of Soviet Kazakhstan in May 1929, strode confidently toward the new life. It was there that the combat headquarters of the Kazakhstan Communists and the republic's government began their work.

During the years of prewar construction its working people were in the forefront of socioeconomic and cultural transformations, the chief result of which was the Kazakh people's transition from feudalism to socialism, bypassing the agonizing stage of capitalism.

D.A. Kunayev made special mention of Alma-Ata's great contribution to victory in the Great Patriotic War. The people of Alma-Ata, he said, displayed courage, selflessness, and a great sense of internationalism in those grim years.

On the very first day of the war the working people declared at an all-city rally: "The sacred fire of hatred and contempt for the intemperate aggressor burns in our hearts. Together with the rest of the Soviet people we will teach the imperialist aggressors a grim lesson."

Tens of thousands of Communists and Komsomol members went off to join the field army. Many troop formations were set up in Alma-Ata. The guards Panfilovites covered themselves with eternal glory by defending the capital of our motherland, Moscow, with unparalleled courage and unprecedented heroism. People from Alma-Ata defended together with all Soviet people the city of Lenin and Stalingrad, fought on all fronts and in partisan detachments, and brought freedom to the peoples of Europe and Asia.

The motherland rated highly our compatriots' military exploits. Tens of thousands of frontline soldiers received USSR orders and medals and foreign awards; 54 people from Alma-Ata became Heroes of the Soviet Union, 8 became full-fledged holders of the Order of Glory, and those who particularly distinguished themselves became twice Heroes of the Soviet Union.

Work on the home front was equally intensive. Dozens of large enterprises of tremendous defense significance were moved to Alma-Ata from the west of the country. Production had to be set up in a incredibly short time and military goods produced. And Alma-Ata coped successfully with this party task. In the first months of the war it was transformed from a center producing mainly consumer goods into a city producing means of production.

The victory in the Great Patriotic War increased our strength tenfold and helped to initiate development of the economy and culture such as old Alma-Ata had never experienced.

Time was on our side. It brought Kazakhstan the heroic virgin-land epic, in which Alma-Ata played an outstanding part. At the call of the party and the command of their hearts, over 25,000 young patriots left the city to open up new lands. Many of them linked their lives to the countryside forever and became experienced grain growers and agricultural specialists making a personal contribution to the implementation of the Food Program.

Alma-Ata today is a major administrative, political, industrial, and cultural center in the Soviet East. Its industrial enterprises and associations now produce nearly 50 times as much as in prewar 1940. They export products to dozens of countries.

There is probably nowhere in the city from where you cannot see a construction crane. Nowadays the city's construction workers annually commission fixed capital worth R660 million. This is the volumes of the 5th and 6th 5-Year Plans added together.

The motherland's high award obliges all of us, the speaker stressed, not only to recognize the successes and achievements, but everywhere to have a clear idea of the next tasks, not to gloss over the acute problems, but to resolve them in the spirit of the demands of the party and its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo and the advice and instructions of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

Something that is particularly intolerable is the failure to fulfill contract deliveries, which, as was stressed back at the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum, places a heavy burden on our entire economy. It is necessary to promptly and fully assimilate production capacities and eliminate equipment idle time in order to ensure full production, as required by our plans and pledges, and to introduce the team contract more fruitfully.

There is still a considerable procession of new but poor-quality, substandard goods which are a discredit to the name of Alma-Ata. There are many complaints about defects in the work of construction workers and road builders, serious flaws in trade and everyday consumer services, and unsatisfactory work by some health, education, and culture establishments, city transportation and communications components, and post offices. No one has any right to turn a blind eye to all this, particularly party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs at all levels.

The speaker noted that all labor collectives must focus attention primarily on the tasks of implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) and February (1984) Plenums. Paramount attention must be paid to reducing manpower and material expenditure in production. Collectives at enterprises and construction sites must wage a more effective struggle to fulfill and overfulfill pledges on the party's specific target — an above-plan increase of at least 1 percent in labor productivity and an additional 0.5-percent reduction in the prime cost. In Alma-Ata this means extra output worth at least R30 million.

Party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations should continue to increase working people's activeness in every possible way, develop effective socialist competition, introduce the team contract system and consistently strengthen discipline.

Every collective, every leader, and every worker and specialist must wage a day-to-day struggle to achieve high end results, to ensure a high degree of organization and order in every workplace and resolutely eradicate window dressing and formalism.

It is important to pay closer attention to the further development of physical education, sport, and tourism, of their material and technical base, and of genuine mass participation in them and to make the capital once again a leading center for skating, track athletics, mountaineering, tennis and military sports. Trade union and Komsomol organizations and the mass media, of course, must not stand aloof from this.

Those are, in very general outline, our paramount tasks, the speakers said. There is no doubt that the people of Alma-Ata will cope with them honorably. The guarantee of this is the widespread socialist competition among the working people of the capital and the capital's oblast.

D.A. Kunayev read out the USSR Supreme Soviet decree awarding the Order of Lenin to Alma-Ata and attached the motherland award to the city banner to tumultuous applause from the meeting participants.

The celebratory meeting was addressed by A.D. Koychumanov, first secretary of Alma-Ata Gorkom, I.A. Redkozubov, team leader at the "Almaatazhilstroy" Trust No 15 Construction and Installation Administration, R. Kerimbekov, driver at a locomotive depot, D.V. Sovolskiy, director of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Organic Catalysis and Electrochemistry, A.S. Plakhina, milkmaid at the "Kamenskiy" State Pedigree Stock Breeding Farm in Alma-Ata Oblast, and the poet T. Moldagaliyev. They expressed profound gratitude to the Communist Party and Soviet Government for their high rating of the contribution made by the people of Alma-Ata to communist construction and gave assurances that the city's working people will devote all their strength and ability to implementing the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade K.U. Chernenko.

SHCHERBITSKIY ADDRESSES KIEV PARTY SECRETARIES

AU291741 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Mar 84 p 1

[RATAU report on speech by Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at 24 March meeting with gorkom and raykom secretaries in Kiev -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The seminar's work is nearing completion, the speaker noted. The agenda has been exhausted, and the time has come, as they say, to sum up the results. The work carried out is undoubtedly good. The seminar has examined a wide range of issues involving organizational party, ideological, and cadres work, the practice of party control over economic and social development, and has offered an opportunity for useful exchanges of experiences.

We thought a great deal about th seminar agenda, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy said. We wanted it to be maximally sturdy and aimed at matters which engage us daily. Our intention was not only to give as much information as possible, but also and mainly to stimulate your thought, and to help find effective ways of settling outstanding tasks.

Stress was laid on what is to be done. Having comprehended what has been said here, and proceeding from the local conditions, you are expected to find our how to do that, how to make practical use of the experience and recommendations voiced here.

What would I like to say at the end? A great deal of difficult work awaits you at home. The time is busy and the issues ahead are great. THE FIRST QUARTER IS RUNNING OUT. AND IT IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT EVERYWHERE TO SCRUTINIZE THE RESULTS OF THE WORK THOROUGHLY AND IN A BUSINESS-LIKE MANNER, AND TO TAKE OPPORTUNE MEASURES IN ORDER TO PREVENT A DECLINE IN THE FORTHCOMING MONTHS, AND TO ENSURE THAT THE 1984 PLANS AND SOCIALIST PLEDGES ARE NOT ONLY FULFILLED, BUT OVERFULFILLED.

This is the way the issue is posed by our party's Central Committee. We must have a look not only at the lagging sectors, but at those coping with the plans, we must look ahead and avert possible disruptions.

Particular attention is to be paid to the state of affairs in CONSTRUCTION, because both the fulfillment of the plans for production, and the settlement of many social problems depend on the implementation of the construction program. Recently, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat adopted a decision on this issue, and determined what is to be done to cope with the 1984 plans for this vital branch of our economy.

The current season is very important in the COUNTRYSIDE. The weather has not been kind to us this year either. Even now it is evident that the timing and the quality of field operations, the well-organized completion of cattle wintering, and the ability of our cadres at large to overcome the difficulties which are arising will be of decisive importance. In this respect, the role of raykoms is indeed enormous.

While attending to all these and other issues, one has to bear in mind that OUR MAIN OBJECTIVE IS TO ENSURE A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN THE EFFICIENCY OF CONTROL OVER NATIONAL ECONOMIC BRANCHES AND COMMUNAL PRODUCTION. THIS IS THE LANDMARK SET FOR US IN THE DECISIONS OF THE 26TH PARTY CONGRESS, AS WELL AS OF THE DECEMBER 1983 AND THE FEBRUARY 1984 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM.

The economy, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy pointed out, is the basis for raising the people's living standards and the state's defense capacity. The ways of increasing economic effectiveness are well-known. Above all, we must make significantly better use of the production potential available, including existing capacities and those newly put into operation, as well as production assets.

Moreover, SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS MUST BE ACCELERATED at every level. Indeed, this is our gold mine which is still being exploited quite insufficiently. We frequently profit by the opportunities offered us by science and advanced experience in an unthrifty way. We must apply scientific-technical achievements and the methods of work offered by production innovators more rapidly and on a larger scale.

Last but not least, it is highly important to cope with the tasks for saving labor, energy, material, technical, and financial resources, and to intensify the struggle against wastefulness, book doctoring, and eyewash.

IN ACCOMPLISHING ALL THESE TASKS, THE ROLE OF CADRES AND OF THE STYLE OF OUR WORK IS GREAT AND, ONE CAN SAY, DECISIVE.

We must proceed from the point that all of us -- from the Central Committee secretary to the party raykom instructor -- must work significantly better, more rapidly, and more efficiently. And for this purpose gorkoms, raykoms, obkoms, and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, having analyzed the real state of affairs, must opportunately and clearly determine the main, crucial tasks, the sequence and ways of their accomplishment, must correctly distribute forces, and must organize well the execution.

GUIDELINES FOR IMPROVING STYLE HAVE BEEN PROVIDED IN THE WELL KNOWN CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECISIONS AND IN THE SPEECHES DELIVERED BY COMRADE K.U. CHERNENKO, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE GENERAL SECRETARY.

In accordance with these documents, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has approved concrete measures that clearly show what is to be done and how to raise the effectiveness of our entire work.

What else would I like to call your attention to?

We must constantly remember, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, we must never forget that THE PARTY COMMITTEE IS A BODY FOR POLITICAL GUIDANCE, IT DOES NOT RUN THE ECONOMY DIRECTLY, BUT CONTROLS IT THROUGH PEOPLE, THROUGH CADRES, THROUGH BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS. And its attitude to everything must be a political one. This implies that the party committee must be free from any departmental or parochial influence, must always and in every respect be strict in the pursuit of the principled party line, and must ensure a state-like attitude toward the matter at hand.

This means that each raykom and gorkom must keep IN THE FOREGROUND the selection, training, and rational, well-considered distribution of cadres, their education, the organizational and political consolidation of party organizations; it must foster discipline and raise the vanguard role of the Communists.

It is important for party committees not to substitute for or duplicate administrative, economic, and other bodies, because this practice in organizational, political, and economic work is harmful. In essence, this all can be reduced to one single elementary requirement: Each party, administrative and economic body, each responsible funcionary must mind its direct business and must bear full responsibility for it.

You know that the practice of substituting for or of duplicating administrative and economic bodies has taken roots here and there. And it is not easy to get rid of this. But this must be done, and the sooner the better.

WHAT IS IT THAT SOME PARTY COMMITTEES LACK IN THEIR PRACTICAL WORK?

ABOVE ALL, they lack a profound, qualified, and systematic analysis of the state of affairs and of the leading trends in economic and social development. And without such an analysis one cannot see what is the most important, one cannot clearly determine priorities and organize efficient work.

MOREOVER, some cadres lack initiative, vigor, and persistence in the work. Unfortunately, we still have, even at leading posts, people who are insufficiently familiar with the matter at hand, who are indifferent and careless. Practice shows that it is difficult -- and, in a number of cases, useless -- to expect them to ensure that the plans are fulfilled, to fight stagnation and conservatism. And we must not waste time watching such people, must not be indulgent with them. It is primarily up to party committees to man all leading posts with people who are politically mature, competent, and able both to accomplish the current tasks now and to see ahead. We have such people in sufficiency.

THE NEXT POINT is that, in its routine work, each party committee needs not a formal, but a real collectivity, it must correctly distribute forces and personal responsibility for the matter at hand. And for this purpose it is highly important to actively and creatively engage not only bureau members, but also all raykom or gorkom members. The ways of ensuring this were discussed at the seminar.

It is known that THE STRENGTH OF A PARTY ORGANIZATION DEPENDS ON ITS LIVE AND DAILY LINKS WITH THE MASSES. Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted the need for a better allocation of time and efforts used for internal party matters, and for work among non-party members, young people, and other categories of the population. Party committees must not restrict themselves to their purely party affairs. In other words, EACH PARTY BODY MUST CONSTANTLY GENERATE CREATIVE ENERGY AND INITIATIVE. But we must see to it that all this energy is not spent, so to say, for "our own" internal party needs. It is important to constantly work among non-party and young people, and to foster links with the masses.

THE SPEAKER TOUCHED UPON ADHERENCE TO PRINCIPLE IN THE WORK, AND UPON SENSITIVENESS TO SHORTCOMINGS AND ALL KINDS OF ENCROACHMENTS. In this respect, our line is well known, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy said. It has been clearly and unequivocally traced in the documents adopted by the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees. We proceed from the point that, in party ranks, and the more so at leading posts, there must be no room for turncoats. [pererozhdentsy], money-grubbers, for those abusing their official status for personal profit, breaking the rules of Communist morality and misbehaving. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has pursued this line and will continue to do so firmly and consistently. And there must be no doubt about that.

Unfortunately, an atmsophere of principled exactingness and of irreconcilability to shortcomings still has not been created everyhwere. And the creation of such an atmosphere, as well as the promotion of adherence to principle and of party-like attitude, decisively depend on the party committee's bureau and its first secretary.

The first secretary must be a model in efficiency, adherence to principle, and -- one can say -- selflessness in the work, a model in modesty, accessibility, and respect for people. The failure of a leader who ignores these requirements or who does not advance ahead of the collective, but tries to place himself above it, is imminent. This point must also be borne in mind by everyone.

You are aware, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy said, how the INTERNATIONAL SITUATION has aggravated in recent times and who is to be blamed for it. This requires from every party organization a model efficiency, good organization, and a high political vigilance. It is our duty and foremost obligation to ensure all this.

DEMIRCHYAN SPEECH TO ARMENIAN CP PLENUM

GF281600 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 10 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

["Excerpts" of speech delivered by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in Yerevan on 7 March]

[Text] Comrades: The Extraordinary February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee again demonstated the continuity of the policy of the party and its determination to absolutely pursue the Leninist course and to steadily implement the course of the 26th CPSU Congress which was creatively developed and enriched by the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The inviolable unity of the party and people became apparent with special force in the days when the Soviet people bid farewell to the loyal Leninist and the untiring fighter for peace and communism, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, whose name will remain in the history of the country and in the memory of the Soviet people.

Held in an atmosphere of unanimity and solidarity, the Central Committee Plenum unanimously elected Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, a prominent activist of the Communist Party and Soviet Government, as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The speech of K.U. Chernenko specified the major tasks of the internal and foreign policy of the party, the major directions of work and the problems of the present and future, on which the party and people are required to work.

[The speech] discloses the major sources of the inexhaustible force and supreme authority of the party, which is represented by the monolithic solidarity of its ranks, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its indissoluble unity with the people, and which is represented by the party ability to develop and guide the civil and creative activity of the masses and to unite these masses ideologically and in an organized manner according to Leninist principles and methods.

The Communists and working people of Armenia, like all the other Soviet people, warmly support and fully adopt the decisions of the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Firmly rallying around the mother party and its Leninist Central Committee, they will selflessly struggle with full determination for the steady certification of the majestic plans of communist creation. This clear and thorough speech delivered by Comrade K.U. Chernenko during his meeting with the electorate of Kuybyshevskiy Electoral Okrug in Moscow caused a warm reverberation throughout the country.

The speeches of Comrade K.U. Chernenko at the February Plenum of the Central Committee determined a deeply founded program of communist creation and peace -- a program of concrete activity for further developing our progressive socialist society and for fulfilling the current, immediate, and strategic tasks. This is a program of struggle for a steady progress, for strengthening the economic and defense might of the country, for improving the well-being of the Soviet people, and for maintaining and consolidating peace.

The basic foundation for solving all the tasks of the further versatile progress of our society was and will remain the progressive development of the economy. This is why we should invariably concentrate our attention on the questions of economic construction and the constant improvement of work in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, and in the other sectors of the national economy. After the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, work in this direction was considerably activated. Control over the national economy and organization, responsibility, and discipline in all fields are improving. It is important now, as was noted at the December 1983 and February 1984 Plenums of the Central Committee, to maintain a steady rate and a general style for the practical solution of the tasks, to steadily improve the level of economic management, and to more actively develop the positive tendencies and add to them a steady character.

Namely, from this point of view at the January 1984 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, we analyzed the situation of work in economic, social, and cultural development in the republic and the progress in fulfilling the plans and socialist pledges of the 11th 5-Year Plan and determined our actual and perspective tasks.

The results achieved by us during the past 3 years of the current 5-year plan period are known to you. They are in general high results and are marked by victories in the All-Union Socialist Emulation. We should review the good basis for successfully fulfilling the tasks of the 11th 5-Year Plan.

Work at the start of this year was not bad. The republic's industry fulfilled the 1984 2-month plan for the production of trade products at 102.6 percent and the plan for the production output at 102.4 percent. The rates of growth in regard to January and February last year were 9.4 and 11.3 percent respectively. A total of 28.6 million rubles worth of products were produced ahead of the scheduled plan and 26.1 million rubles worth of products were sold. The labor productivity plan in January was overfulfilled at 101.7 percent and the rate of growth was 6.8 percent.

In comparison with January-February 1983, capital investment in the national economy as a whole increased by 9.3 percent and the volume of construction and installation works by 10.2 percent. The volume of purchases of agricultural products also increased: cattle and poultry increased by 10.2 percent; milk by 3.8 percent; and eggs by 20.7 percent. The plan for trade turnover of state and cooperative trade was fulfilled and achieved a growth of 5.1 percent. The results we achieved in the other sectors of the national economy were not bad.

The republic's workers are working to increase labor productivity by 1 percent and to reduce production cost by 0.5 percent. All the industrial production associations and enterprises adopted socialist pledges -- to increase labor productivity by 1.3-3 percent ahead of schedule and to reduce production cost by 0.6-1 percent. And according to the results of work in January, they honorably fulfilled them.

The overall results of work during the past 2 months show that the party organizations and the republic's workers are actively working to fulfill the assigned tasks. However, we have many enterprises, organizations, and farms which have not fulfilled the plans. Many of these are fulfilling the plans without promoting their qualitative indicators. In industry, the 2-month plan for the production of trade products was not fulfilled by 52 enterprises and associations. The major reasons for the delay are the low level of technology, production organization and labor, execution and planning discipline, and the fact that socialist pledges in the individual enterprises are formed rigidly and the pledges of the workers, brigades, sections, and workshops are not strengthened by concrete measures that can achieve highly effective labor by those who are competing. We are deeply concerned about the fact that due to the nonobservance of the required measures for successfully conducting winter preparations in a number of rayons, cattle productivity decreased and the output of meat and milk procurement declined. For the first 2 months of 1984 in comparison with the same period last year, milk procurement decreased in 9 rayons. There is particularly low quality fodder in the dairy herd. There is a deficiency in the rations of the high quality and succulent cattle fodders and in their effective use. For some years in the republic a futile discussion has been going on about increasing fodder root-crops. Now, the quantity of this fodder does not exceed 500-600 kilograms per cow and it is necessary to have not less than 2-2.5 tons. The plan for this valuable fodder crop last year was fulfilled by only 7 rayons in the republic. Comrades, bad work cannot be hidden. Last year, about 2.5 million tons of fodder were produced. This is the second record result in fodder production. But in many rayons workers did not observe the technological demands for the procurement and accumulation of fodder and did not maintain its quality. This has now led to undesirable consequences.

Regarding the concrete facts and data taken from the practice of rayons and individual farms, where the party, soviet, and economic leaders take the necessary care of maintaining livestock output, ultimate results can be achieved. However, this important sector of agriculture cannot make progress where feeding work is inadequate and where livestock breeding has not yet become a leading sector. The party and soviet leaders of Kalinin, Krasnoselsk, and Amasiysk Rayons are responsible for the fact that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are not organizing the required work for increasing the productivity of the public herd and partly for the work to increase the milk capacity of the cows.

Due to the absence of appropriate attention to the quality of fodder and its processing and enrichment with new elements, to the rational use of fodder facilities and to the contents and care for agriculture and cattle breeding in the specified rayons in January-February this year, the milk capacity of the public herd in comparison with that of the same period last year decreased further. Naturally, milk production output also decreased. Output of milk production and procurement was also reduced in Sevan, Shamshadin, and other rayons.

The leaders of the abovementioned and other rayons should adjust the situation of work and should absolutely fulfill the plans and socialist pledges for milk production and procurement.

As in the past, in many rayons and farms reproduction of fertile soil on an expanded scale has not been achieved; the advanced agricultural technology which takes into account the local weather and climate conditions is not being utilized; new and highly productive varieties of agricultural crops and progressive forms and methods of labor organizations are inadequately being introduced; and the reclaimed lands, fertilizers and agricultural equipment are badly used.

Now, what is the situation of the economy? As you know new purchase prices were introduced since last year, with the purpose of maintaining sufficient activity of the low-profit and unprofitable economic sectors. However, according to 1983 results, 90 sovkhozes in the republic worked profitably. Many of these farms are in Amasiysk, Ararat, Yekhegnadzor, Talin, and Martunin Rayons. There are also such farms in the Armenian poultry industry system [Armptitseprom].

In spite of the progress in construction production, much work still has to be done to fulfill the plans. For the past years of the 5-year plan the plans of construction and installation works and the plan of commissioning fixed funds were not at all fulfilled. These plans were not fulfilled during the past 2 months of the current year although the rates of their growth sharply increased. The volume of uncompleted construction works was great on 1 January 1984. The nonfulfillment of the quantitative indicators, the low level of production organization and discipline, and the inconsistent work to strengthen the economic system unavoidably lead to a worsening of the qualitative indicators.

Many organizations of the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Armenian Main Administration for Assembly and Special Construction Works and also other construction organizations are not fulfilling their plans and are allowing growth of average wages ahead of the growth of labor productivity and the rise in the cost of construction and installation works.

We are obliged to assess firmly the activity of these enterprises and sectors and to examine this activity in light of the insoluble unity of quantity and quality. It is necessary to demand from the economic workers and party leaders that they analyze the work of the collectives not only on the basis of how they can increase production but also on the basis of how they can increase labor productivity and decrease costs and material losses and on the basis of the profit they can achieve. In a word, it is necessary to evaluate the general figures of fulfilling the plan, to regularly look for ways to improve economic indicators, to strengthen the economic system and to ensure effective socialist management in every sector.

We should persistently and consistently work to eliminate present shortcomings and ensure the fulfillment of plans in terms of both the quantitative and qualitative indicators by each enterprise, organization and department. The main attention of the party committees and organizations should be dedicated to the questions of accelerating production intensification and growth rates of labor productivity, the realistic improvement of the quality of products and labor, and full and highly effective use of the available productions, scientific and technical potential and all kinds of resources and to the improvement of management, organization and technology of production. It is necessary to more actively achieve measures that are aimed at economizing resources and at reducing the amount of heavy physical and inefficient labor.

We should move quickly to further develop machine construction, which is the basis of technical progress, to expand its experimental base and to introduce broadly in all sectors of the national economy computer technology and microprocessors which fundamentally open new possibilites for production automation and changes in labor structure.

The fundamental directions for developing our economy are accurately determined by the party. As noted at the February plenum, the intensification, the rapid introduction of the achievements of science and technology in production and the verification of complex programs should in the end raise the quality and level of the productions forces of our society. "It is absolutely necessary that we should ensure a rapid and uninterrupted renovation of all sectors of the national economy on the basis of the modern achievements of science and technology. This is one of our major tasks. Without this, progress in society is merely meaningless," noted Comrade K.U. Chernenko at the preelection meeting.

The realization of all these tasks and energetic implementation of the party measures for developing the economy which have economic as well as political significance should be the major direction of the daily work of every party organization and every worker. The decisions of the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum directed this. The plenum noted that the essence of continuity is to move forward without any break. Building on what was achieved previously and concentrating the collective essence and the energy of communists, the working class and all people in the unsolved tasks and on the major problems of the present and future, we can move forward.

For successfully fulfilling the 5-year plan it is necessary to improve our control over the economy, to effectively solve the current questions of development and to augment the responsibility of the leaders of the ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations of all sectors of the national economy for fulfilling the planned tasks and adopted socialist pledges. We have experience in this regard. In fact, it is possible to say with certainty that last year through the daily control over work of each section and each industrial enterprise and the concrete assistance in solving the emerging questions of the organizational, production, material and technical order by the Central Committee and government, the party committees and the executive committees of the councils of people's deputies, we adjusted the situation and maintained stability in industrial work and overfulfilled the planned tasks of the year for increasing growth rates. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee believes that this form and method of work were fully justified.

The republic's Council of Ministers this year should accurately determine every month which sector of industry and which enterprise must overfulfill the plans and how much additional products will be discharged by a particular sector and in a particular month in order to achieve the growth rate in the republic as a whole. For this purpose, it is especially necessary that every sector should control the fulfillment of the pledges for the ahead-of-schedule growth of labor productivity and for the reduction of production costs.

It is necessary to direct special attention to the supervision of contract pledges. Here it is persistently necessary to increase demand. We have repeatedly discussed and again emphasise that any violation of the contractual pledges on the discharge of products and nonfulfillment of these plans frustrate the work of the specific users and labor collectives -- and this is not admissible. In fact, with regard to the most important kinds of industrial products, on which the Central Statistical Administration is making a survey, the 2-month plan of 1984 for 14 kinds of products was not fulfilled.

Our economic organs should offer assistance to the city and rayon party committees which are obliged through skillful organizational and political work to direct the forces of the party organizations and labor collectives toward fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges. This work should be carried out concretely and continuously.

Consequently, the fulfillment of the directions of the February Plenum of the Central Committee should be considered our major responsibility. We must dedicate the greatest attention to the economy and to the development of the national economy and work persistently so that we can totally fulfill the demands of the party's economic policy. We should consistently increase the contribution of our republic to the development of the country's economy as a unified national economic complex. Everywhere, we are obliged to place the interests of the general public above anything and decisively stop any features of the bureaucratic approach to work and order of precedence. It is important to be careful not to miss a local initiative in any way. As was noted by Comrade K.U. Chernenko at the preelection meeting, the dissemination of economic initiatives and creative works at the level of the economic regions, associations and enterprises is the most important public and state task.

We have determined our tasks at the January Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee according to the basic and major directions of work which are related to the fulfillment of the 1984 plan. As noted at the plenum, in industry, it is necessary that we achieve an ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of 2 to 3 percent in the production plans so that we can reach a level of 5.5 to 6 percent in production growth rates. A serious test in the struggle for the 1984 harvest is considered to be the coming spring sowing. Much work has already been done in this direction. Standard seeds have been prepared for the farms in general. Repair of agricultural equipment is about to be completed. Organic fertilizers in quantities much more than in the previous years have been put in the fields. It is necessary now to concentrate attention on the fulfillment of all the urgent work in agricultural production, which are related to the formation of the groundworks of the future harvest not on the basis of the best conditions, but on the worst conditions. It is necessary to conduct the whole complex of spring sowing work at optimal rates and with the firm observation of all the agrotechnical requirements.

We should ensure the eventual and complete fulfillment of the plans of construction and installation works and commissioning of fixed funds by paying special attention to the timely exploitation of the social, cultural and living projects. It is necessary to take efficient measures for continuously fulfilling the trade turnover plans and for improving the work of transportation and all sectors of the national economy. Anthing that we do to develop the economy, and this again was noted at the February Plenum of the Central Committee and during the meeting of Comrade K.U. Chernenko with the constituents, is directed toward the achievement of the party's main goal -- to maintain constantly rising requirements and to improve the wellbeing of the Soviet peoples.

During the last period we have been dedicating special attention to increasing production, expanding the variety and improving the quality of consumer goods. We have achieved considerable results in this regard. At the same time, it is necessary to say that the available reserves and capabilities for increasing production output and improving the quality of goods are still inadequately used. The use of these capabilities for the discharge of those goods which are essential to the people is the direct responsibility of the economic workers. Many of our associations and enterprises have such capabilities. Hence, it is necessary to organize work in such a way that by removing the unmarketable goods from production we can increase the production output of high quality consumer goods.

Much still has to be done in order to radically improve the work of the services units and to develop their material and technical base. The party committees, the local soviets and the corresponding ministries, departments and organizations should allocate energetic forces for successfully fulfilling this task, increase attention to the key and principal questions of developing trade and domestic services and strengthen the order and promote the quality of services. As is known, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered it necessary to work out a complex program for developing the production of consumer goods and the systems of services to the population, which represent the most important side of life for the Soviet individual, and we should actively take part in this regard.

We are required to work consistently on the implementation of the 5-year program of social development in the republic, to involve ourselves concretely and in a better way in all the complex questions of further improving the material and spiritual level of the people's life and their living conditions and medical services to them, expanding the preschool institutions and improving all kinds of services and to use more effectively the huge means allocated by the state for this purpose. The workers warmly welcomed the resolution adopted at the February Central Committee Plenum calling for all the means and resources saved as a result of increased labor productivity and reduced production costs to be directed at improving the workers' working and living conditions, medical services and housing. They evaluate this as another feature of the consistent care of the party for the well-being of the Soviet individual. For the well-being of our workers measures for improving the distributive relations and the whole system for stimulating the moral and material interests have been taken.

"Who works with the full capacity of force must definitely receive pay advantages. They can say: yes you know that we have some careless workers who must be punished by cutting their salaries and we have honest workers who must be rewarded. This is how it should be. But, it is obvious that there is not enough strictness in punishment and there is not enough justice in offering material incentives. These questions should be studied throughly and without delay," noted Comrade K.U. Chernenko during his meeting with the electors. Here appears the work which should be done by the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and economic leaders. Many things depend on the labor collectives themselves. They have now wide and strong rights according to the legislative order. The matter then is how to use these rights fully.

It was especially noted at the February plenum that by solving the current questions of developing the economy we should not lose sight of the perspective tasks. Our party precisely looks at the major problems and major directions of work. It was noted at the plenum that the new 5-year plan should above all act as a beginning of deep qualitative changes in production and as a plan of decisive change in the intensification of all sectors of the national economy.

The modern material and technical base and system of control should acquire new and high qualities. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee constantly concentrates its attention on questions of the perspective development of the republic and hence maintains a tight correlation of economic, social and spiritual progress. The measures worked out and developed by the Central Committee in this direction are well known to you. Approved by the congresses of the Armenian Communist Party, these measures, which are directed at achieving a dynamic growth in the republic's economy and culture, successfully solving the tasks of social development, improving the well-being of the people, accelerating the progress and raising the qualitative level of production forces, disposing these forces rationally and improving the structure of the sectors of the national economy, especially industry on basis of the republic's resource capabilities, demographic characteristics and interests in environment protection and the priority development of production which does not consume such materials, energy and water, have received the support of Communists and workers of the republic and consequently they will be implemented.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee recently examined the draft fundamental directions of the economic and social development of the Aamenian SSR during the 12th 5-Year Plan period and through 2000 and the draft scheme for the disposition of production forces which were presented by the republic's Council of Ministers. These drafts were worked out in accordance with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and on the basis of the economic strategy of the party. They reflect, in general, the concept of the economic, social and cultural development of our republic which was formulated by the congresses and plenums of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Soon, we will also examine the draft plan of developing the mountainous and piedmont rayons of the republic, which was prepared by the Armenian SSR State Planning Committee at the instructions of the Central Committee.

We should constantly concentrate our attention on the questions of improving control over the national economy and on reorganizing the economic mechanism. In the republic, a new form of control in the agro-industrial complex is in operation, work on the creation of associations with different character in industry is continuing, and in the electrotechnical industry, an experiment on the establishment of a new economic mechanism will begin.

Now, as enough time has passed since the functioning of the new organs of control in the agro-industrial complex we should assess the work of these organs more definitely. As a whole, the results are not bad, but there are shortcomings. In addition to the questions of developing the complex, the republic's agro-industrial commission has to have more effective and concrete influence on the progress of work in the sites and augment the responsibility of the rayon agro-industrial associations for the complete and timely fulfillment of anything that is specified by the Food Program, and the rayon agro-industrial associations should free themselves of the cabinet style of work and bureacracy and should stay close to the farms and organizations, always remembering the responsibility for fulfilling the plans lies with them.

The party organizations should pay continuous attention to the currently conducted economic experiment, strengthen control over its demonstration, help the collectives in conducting it successfully and enrich and expand the progressive experience of work systematically. We should work more actively in the direction of further improving the organizational structure of control over the national economy. This is of no less importance than the improvement of the economic mechanism. Moreover, they are organically connected with each other and this adds the task of the complex improvement of control to the agenda. It is necessary to demonstrate more independence at all levels, to work boldly and to take, if necessary, a specific risk for the sake of increasing the effectiveness of the economy and improving the well-being of the people. This is exactly what the party is expecting from our economic cadres at present.

The successful fulfillment of all the tasks facing us depends directly on the further improvement of the styles and methods of party control and on the organizational and political work of party committees and organizations. During the period which followed the 26th CPSU Congress the collectives idea of the party achieved a great work in explaining the features of the current stage of developing our society and in establishing a scientific basis for the party policy. It is difficult to evaluate the principled significance of the findings deduced at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the stage of improving progressive socialism and on the place of the country in this long and historical march. "They allow us to see clearly the picture of the development of our society with all its complexity and diversity. They represent a practical elimination of the divergences which were allowed between word and work and between the real capabilities of the society and the unfounded prognosis," noted Comrade K.U. Chernenko.

The complexity and magnitude of the tasks of economic and social development and communist education now make increasing demands on the work of the party committees and organizations which have great responsibility for fulfilling the directives of the party and government and for solving the current perspective tasks of economic and cultural construction. The party committees, the soviet and economic organs and all the leading workers are constantly obliged to improve the organizational and political work with the people and to strengthen their links with the masses and labor collectives. They must have time to explain and support the popular initiatives which are considered to be the most inexhaustible reserve for our progress. Considering the words coming from workers and from the main lines of socialist construction and maintaining consultations with the working people, as was noted by the February Central Committee Plenum, should remain a first duty and deep internal requirement of every leading Communist. The party committees should constantly improve the cadres' work and demonstrate more responsibility in this regard.

Some party committees now and then forget that with the promotion of comrades to the leading posts a new stage of training work with them begins, and they do not follow a particular approach toward the results of their activity. The duty of our party committees is to assist the cadres in mastering the Leninist style of work. These committees must do everything that ensures their control over the activity of the leading workers. "The party is striving for what would make the Leninist style in all its diversity and richness a requirement of the spirit and unchangeable working instrument for every party, soviet and economic leader," noted Comrade K.U. Chernenko in his preelection speech. It follows now to show more need for cadres that can be promoted to the relevant leading posts.

All tasks are solved by people. Better results can be achieved in such places where there is a devotion to the party and its policy and where there are principled, energetic and work-loving comrades who have high professional skill and a contemporary level of knowledge and organizational abilities and who skillfully overcome conservatism and stagnation. It is impossible to forget that the personal example and conduct of the leader have great educational significance. On the other hand, it is necessary to educate the cadres in the spirit of self-control and critical evaluation of their own deeds, for the moral rule says that you can demand from people only what you can demand from yourself. Moreover, the party committees are required to dedicate special care with regard to their relations with young leaders and well thought out educational work, inculcate in them the correct and deep party style of work and help them in planning and formation and teach them how to use their power.

During the past several years the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the party committees began to pay more attention to control over execution. This produced its results. Execution discipline has considerably increased. But, unfortunately, there are many cases when control just takes the form of a formal paper character and when it is not based on actual execution of the adopted decisions and designated tasks. The party made it a task -- control should be strict, control over real works should be expanded in such a manner that it can be felt everywhere.

Party strictness is an inalienable feature of party leadership. The party considers the questions of strengthening control over cadres as inseparable from consolidating discipline, order and lawfulness. For this reason, comrades, we are obliged to work everywhere and consistently to strengthen state, labor and production discipline. The February plenum considered the question on the organization and order, on which there are no different opinions, as a major and fundamental question. Augmenting the role of the party organs as organs of political leadership is directly related to the necessity of augmenting the initiative and responsibility of the state and economic organizations for carrying out the work assigned to them. The accurate differentiation between the functions of the party committees and the functions of these organs and the elimination of duplication in their work are a major question of political significance. It is necessary to understand the task correctly and to deal with the questions of developing the economy actively and concretely.

The practice of substituting economic leaders dampens the ardor of cadres. It is necessary to avoid completely the practice of duplication and parallelism as this is a detriment to the party political leadership and to state management. We should dedicate serious attention to the further improvement of the forms and methods of control by the soviets and other state organs, the augmenting of the leading role and responsibility of the deputy committee Communists, to the activation of the work of the party organizations of the state institutions and to the strengthening of the role of the party groups in the soviets. It is necessary to improve the work of the soviet organs, whose activity is inseparably related to economic work and to the deepening of socialist democracy. It is necessary to further increase the level of work of the Supreme Soviet and the local councils, to revive the sessions, to strengthen the activity of the standing commissions, to expand the practice of the deputies' inquiries and to hear these inquiries regularly at the sessions of the accountable organs.

Much work still has to be done in increasing the role of the local councils in economic and cultural construction, in maintaining the complex economic and social development by them in the corresponding territories, in consolidating control over the production of consumer goods and in developing the services spheres, and for protecting the environment, for better using the rights of coordination and control over the activity of the different subbordinate enterprises and organizations and for improving the mutual cooperation between the local organs of power and the ministers and departments. The determination to solve the urgent tasks and to carry out an effective organizational work and firm control over the fulfillment of the party decisions should be the center of constant attention by the councils.

It was said at the February Central Committee Plenum that to build a new world means to care indefatigably for the formation of the individual of the new world and for his ideological and moral advance. Namely, from this point of view, as you know, the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum examined the question on the ideological and mass political work. Success in work depends on the consistent pursuance of the Leninist principle of the unity of ideological, organizational and economic work. It was noted at the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum that it is not possible to understand the economy on the basis of a new qualitative level without creating the necessary social and ideological prerequisites for it. Similarly it is not possible to solve the urgent problems of the developing socialist consciousness without leaning on the solid foundation of economic and social policy. Namely, the question should be raised in a dialectical and firm correlation.

Nine months have passed since the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This is not a long time and much has been done. The republic's party organization is consistently working in the direction of increasing the effectiveness of the ideological and mass political work which consolidates communist convictions, moral substance and political culture of the masses and their labor activity. The ideological work is more firmly tied up with the solution of the tasks of socioeconomic development in the republic. The level of political and economic education increased; the effectiveness of the mass information media increased; and the struggle against bourgeois ideology and propaganda was consolidated.

At the same time there are obvious shortcomings and derelictions in this work. The essence of the decisions of the June plenum is to mobilize in the movement all the creative forces which reflect the consciousness and moral substance of the masses. You know that this is the basis of their labor and public activity. And this demands an active and creative model of free work, new forms and methods and corresponding changes in material production which are aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the work. Unfortunately, we have individual party committees and primary party oegnizations which are still working in the old style. The June plenum demanded that all communists and leading workers from the labor collectives to the ministries and departments fully understand the significance of socioeconomic security for the present program.

But, if there is not enough order and organization in production, it will not go well and there will be serious shortcomings in the organization of labor and wages, and if the social questions are not solved properly, all this will negatively affect the people's upbringing and as it is said, no lectures or discussions will then help. Unfortunately, it follows that we still have many enterprises and organizations where such a picture can be seen and where the leaders and party organizations are slowly coping with their work.

One of the new quickly expanding forms of socialist labor organization is now considered to be the brigade form of work. Another interesting form was born -- the family labor brigade, the family detachment. A new form of control is now functioning in the villages -- the rayon agro-industrial associations. Their administrative and organizational structures have already been established.

And what about ideological work? It simply doesn't correspond with the new forms of production and labor organization. The gorkoms and raykoms are required to deal with this work seriously, to introduce the relevant structure of the ideological and educational work according to these new forms and to put the work which concretely fulfills the plans of our progress in the center of attention of the brigades, and the rayon agro-industrial associations. It is not allowed at all to disregard the human factor in economic progress. And here, in the first place, it is necessary to create in all workers a respectful and socialist attitude toward labor.

The development of respect for labor, the struggle against petty empires, slovenliness and slackers and the creation of an atmosphere of definance and intolerance to haphazard acts, idleness and irresponsibility are now one of the major tasks of educational work. Any haphazard act or irresponsibility hurts in two ways -- they increase material cost and cause serious social and moral detriment.

We will constantly further struggle against misappropriation, bribery, misuse of working places, the squandering of state means, and the other negative practices which do not conform with the Soviet style of life. We will give no quarter. Here, the success of the work depends on the high responsibility of the leaders and on the degree of attention to these questions by the party organizations and labor collectives and every member of the society and on the effective work of the people's control, law enforcement and court organs.

The problem of labor education should be placed in the center of our work with youths. The discussion of school reform at a large scale inspired the interest of our community. In the republic, we have about 1 million people who took part in the discussion, of whom over 100,000 people delivered speeches at meetings and spoke to the media. The majority of the comrades stressed the necessity of consolidating labor education and supported the corresponding directions of the draft reform.

The party organizations and committees are required to pay full attention to the questions of developing the socialist consciousness of youths and all workers and to raise them in the spirit of the infinite devotion to the ideas of communism, proletarian and socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, and in the spirit of friendship and fraternity with the great Russian people and with all the peoples of the USSR.

Our party is striving to prepare such youths who do not hesitate to shoulder the heavy historic responsibility for the destiny of the country and the destiny of socialism and peace -- such youths who not only can implement the experience of the previous generations, but who can also enrich this experience with their own achievements. From here emerge the tasks of the party committees and organizations, the Komsomol, trade unions and labor collectives.

On many occasions at the plenums of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee the necessity of improving all the directions of the ideological and political educational work was stressed and many tasks were determined. But, until now, the questions of improving the work style of the organs of party education, the operational activity of the propaganda and agitation aktiv and lectures of the social sciences, the improvement of visual agitation and on the full use of the public opinion have not been solved. It is necessary to take the appropriate measures to liquidate the noted shortcomings.

Now, more than ever before, there is an increasing need for the press and all mass information media, from which we are expecting more deeply interesting publications on the life of the republic and more courage in touching the urgent problems. It is necessary for our media and all means of the mass political work to maximize their counterpropaganda. They are obliged to take the offensive effectively and convincingly, and to repulse the hostile attacks by imperialist propaganda of Western radio, including the [word indistinct] which are trying to defame socialism, the national policy of the CPSU and the peace-loving Soviet state. It is required to continuously expose the military policy of U.S. imperialism and the more aggressive forces of the West and their pretentions to dominate the world, and their policy which resists progress and violates the rights and freedom of peoples.

In the work for verifying the urgent tasks of communist education, much has to be done by our men of letters and fine arts, from whom we are expecting further high ideological, political and high quality artistic production works. I want to note in particular the tasks facing the republic's science. Now, the role of science in developing the production forces and in raising productivity and improving the quality of labor is increasing more than ever before. Here, without the solid contact and mutual activity of the educational institutions and production enterprises nothing can be achieved.

We are still unsatisfied with the rates of introducing the achievements of science. The republic's Council of Ministers is required to tackle this matter more effectively. The role of science is increasing, especially in social life, in forming scientific views, in consolidating the Leninist principles of the class and party system and in the struggle against all the anti-scientific and religious prejudices.

And now we come to the tasks of academic institutes, colleges of sciences, scientific departments of party organizations, and educational institutes.

The task of our ideological work is to propagandize on the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum and the proposals and conclusions included in the speech by Comrade K.U. Chernenko.

To develop mass-political and organization work, the main thrust must be directed toward explaining the party's policy and its organizational work in the interest of the workers. It is necessary to convincingly demonstrate to the masses that the party accurately views and clearly understands the problems facing the country and has a sound working program.

In working out plans for the further development of the country, our party is fully taking the world situation into consideration. As you know, the current situation is complicated and tense. The party and the Soviet Government are taking measures to safeguard our homeland and to continue implementing the Leninist international policy. This is a policy of true peace, freedom, and independence and to eliminate the threat of global nuclear war. It meets the vital interests of the Soviet peoples and all the peoples of the world. As it was declared at the February plenum, we will not take one step backward from this policy.

The USSR Supreme Soviet elections took place 3 days ago. The results of these elections once again demonstrated the high political involvement of the Soviet peoples. Our peoples wholly, indivisibly, and wisely support the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU. The Soviet Government is renewed proof of the unity of the party and peoples and the decision of the workers to change life by achieving the glorious plans of communist construction.

The Soviet peoples look to the future with optimism. They know that our Leninist party, the CPSU Central Committee and its nucleus, the Central Committee Politburo, are faithful to Leninism and to the deeds of the glorious October Revolution. They see in the party their friendly and collective leaders. The party immensely values the confidence of the peoples in it and works relentlessly to achieve the goals of enhancing the prosperity and happiness of the Soviet peoples.

The unity of the party and peoples have been, is, and will continue to be the source of power of our socialist society.

NEW TAGANKA DIRECTOR EFROS ON THEATER, CREATION

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["Theater Notes" by Anatoliy Efros, chief director of Moscow's Taganka Theater: "Our Work"; capitalized passages are published in boldface]

[Text] I am not the same age as Treplev, but I often repeat something that Treplev said: "New forms are needed... If there aren't any... you might as well have nothing."

I must explain what I mean. If I don't explain this phrase, although it belongs to Chekhov as well as to Treplev, it may seem simply childish. My explanations or arguments come out as follows.

More and more you feel that time is passing incredibly quickly. I would even put forward the unscientific hypothesis that in the 20th century it is passing more quickly than in the 19th or, say, the 17th century. Moreover, it seems that as each year goes by, time becomes more concentrated, it accelerates. What used to take a year is now over in a month. As a result, each year seems shorter than the last. You can, of course, try to stop time, but it will probably sweep away anyone who wants to stop it. Perhaps you needn't stop it; you must try somehow to perceive its swift progress. And the direction of its headlong motion.

When many of us were setting out on our creative careers 30 years ago, the major preoccupation in the theater was that of achieving a natural approach. The extravagance, the showiness of the dramatic art were shunned. At times the theater seemed to be an outmoded institution, remote from life. Some people tried to change it, refashion and improve it. When Rozov's "Good Luck!" ("V Dobryy Chas!") was first put on, I heard a theater usherette's reaction to the enthusiastic response of a member of the audience. She shrugged her shoulders and said: "I know, I know. Very close to life, that's all." At that time we were staging several days of Central Children's Theater performances at the Moscow Academy Arts Theater. And it was an usherette at that theater who talked rather haughtily about the "ordinary lifelikeness." But at the time it was everything.

At the time, naturalism was as vital as ventilation. Then we rather marked time. Many people achieved far more truth and naturalness than are to be found in Rozov, yet something more was demanded. You don't get very far an naturalism alone. What was needed was a harder, deeper truth. And it was also necessary to combine this truth in the theater with what is commonly called theatrically. This theatricality also had to be something different, not extravagant, not showy. Maybe even jejune. Perhaps one needed to find a good new definition of this jejune theatricality. But nobody could think of any other words. So they were left with theatricality.

Although everyone has his own idea of what the words mean, these two important words -- "theatricality" and "lifelikeness" -- were engraved on our consciousness.

But time, as I said earlier, flies, it gallops by. More and more, recently, one has felt the need for some different words, the kind of words that would help break unfamiliar, unexplored ground for which, in all likelihood, a good new definition would then be found. For the time being I am using a working concept: "originality."

Endless repetition in art is incredibly tiresome, it blunts our attention. We always need unique, original artistic works.

The most serious, the most profound and the most concrete ideas require an individual language in art.

Blind pursuit of a trend will not produce anything new; you need to instill in players, directors, artists and in the theater as a whole a unique individuality. The kind that is capable of creating things that step beyond the bounds of ordinary performance.

These are not nonsensical statements by any means, neither are they unrealistic ideas. There are plenty of works around which, if we so desired, could give us considerable food for thought. But more often than not we keep our distance, in order to quietly tread the beaten track.

Some years ago, for example, the Moscow State University amateur theater put on a show based on L. Petrushevskiy's play "Music Lessons" ("Uroki Muzyki"). I remember many people being stunned. The audience included actors from various theaters. They left with a feeling of annoyance that they were no longer able to perform with such realism. I remember V. Gaft being both enraptured and perplexed. He said that only amateurs could achieve that. Of course, it was not straightforward amateurism, which often irritates because it lacks the aesthetic element. The amateurs had been brilliantly manipulated by a master director, one who was only young at the time. The anti-acting approach had the same flavor as that of the Italian neorealists who used ordinary people in their brilliant movies, not professionals at all. In "The Bicycle Thieves" there were no professional actors, yet the movie and all its heroes are firmly established in our minds as a highly artistic phenomenon. The experiment performed at the Moscow State University theater was, perhaps, not new, but it was certainly a novelty when compared with the performances that were going on around us. It was an unplanned success. A success which was the product of free and audacious imagination. Without this kind of audacity art cannot exist.

In this audacity there is, if you like, an element of creative flippancy, but a special kind, of course; a curious flippancy mixed with a great and latent wisdom. It is the kind of wise flippancy where the artist ignores, as it were, established forms. Where he kind of fails to notice that particular forms and rules exist and are regarded as immovable. But when he breaks them, the artist is not necessarily doing this to spite someone; often it comes from a natural feeling, ingenuousness, artlessness. He breathes freely, his imagination is unencumbered. It is this free breathing that produces the best works.

It seems to me that in science too it often happens that great knowledge is put well out of the way so that people are able to give free rein to their imagination.

Maybe this is the way the director A. Vasilyev did his "Grown-up Daughter of a Young Man" ("Vzroslaya Doch Molodogo Cheloveka"). Certainly, it was a painstaking, even fastidious piece of work, but it was not dependent on the way "they do it nowadays." He then moved to another theater and his actors gave up the jobs they had had for ages and followed him. Isn't that a bold step? I would like to think that something original will spring up in the new place.

I did not see Peter Brook's "Carmen." I read a lot about it, though. I will not repeat how this famous old opera was staged on this occasion. You can read about it in other articles. What I will say is that for me what I have learned about the new "Carmen" is a striking example of an artist's true wise audacity. Or take Brook's "Cherry Orchard," as performed in a run-down Paris theater. Sometimes the idea of the need for the most unexpected experiments seems so clear! N. Pogodin once wrote in one of his articles that Melpomene often takes up residence where she is least expected.

A long time ago now the directors of the Stanislavskiy Museum suggested: put on some kind of performance in our "Onegin Hall." But I still haven't been able to think of anything. We are indeed lazy and lacking in curiosity.

Yet what a pleasure it was to work with students in another museum -- the Pushkin Museum of Fine Art. On a number of the museum's "December Evenings" we were given the amazing "White Hall" which usually houses some of the best paintings in the world. This time we had to put on a performance in which we would participate along with a choir and an orchestra. I can still sense the festive atmosphere generated by that hall and the audience in it.

The public finds the theater lacking in UNFAMILIAR impressions just as much as we do, and perhaps even more so.

I want to continue this theme.

A. Vertinskaya once asked me to give her the role of Ariel. That is the spirit of good in Shakespeare's "The Tempest." In my imagination this spirit appeared on stage as a kind of evanescent boy. I hadn't given much thought to how Shakespeare's Ariel would appear on the stage and how he would disappear. Vertinskaya laughed and suggested that she learn to roller-skate across the vast new stage at the Academy Arts Theater. She even managed to get some rather lovely roller-skates from somewhere. We had a splendid time fantasizing, and I am sure that our notion will be put into practice sometime. I just want to say that I was struck by her magnificently unfettered imagination.

Is it possible to put on "The Tempest" without a sense of this imaginative flight of fancy? Has the shape of "The Tempest" been established once and for all? Maybe "The Tempest" is not put on because the ideas about it are more often than not hackneyed. How do you stage the actual tempest? How do you show a sinking ship? You have to have a light and flippant sense of mischief. Without this artless sense of mischief and creative imagination you just fall into a routine. The whole secret is to pretend you have not seen any other previous performances, in order to be able to invent your own, to push all your knowledge into the background and think up something totally new. Need I repeat that one presupposes here KNOWLEDGE, EXPERIENCE and LOVE OF SHAKESPEARE.

I still remember one unfinished experiment of mine. It concerned Maya Plisetskaya. She suggested a television production of a Turgenev story in which she would act as well as dance. But the next day, as if in an enchanting dream, Levental and Smoktunovskiy appeared on the set. I arrived at the studio without a script, with the book in my hand, and it was only as the shooting progressed that things began to register. I will never forget the thrill as we worked. The television film was reviled and then praised as well. I still feel confident that there was a certain truth in that work. As time passes one starts thinking about doing something that brings together different types of art. I believe that art today is a "wonderful fusion." Although, of course, I do not discount (that would be sheer stupidity) the most straightforward, normal, psychological performance which can be original if it comes with new, fresh feelings.

In art you cannot "adhere" to or become an appendage of something. This doesn't mean being an ignoramus and inventing the bicycle again. But something must be in the blood, and then the artistic actions should be unfettered and free.

One must not only love and know the classics, but let them percolate through you, make them your own, then breathe and act freely and not go over the same ground as before.

I tell my students: do something different from what we, that is, your teachers, are doing. Although I teach them to analyze dialogue in the manner suggested by Stanislavskiy and I require them to know full well what a psychological act is . . . but one must not rely too heavily on one thing . . . it is not an empty head that you need, of course, but a free one.

I am writing this not because I think my head is like that, but becasue I often feel hidebound. I involuntarily repeat something instead of fearlessly plunging into the unknown. Such plunges can mean, of couse, that you get hurt, but then only occasionally!

And another thing -- about our remarkable theatrical troupes. I say this without irony. They are remarkable, but how much there is in them that is old-fashioned and trite, preventing real work. I have always been an advocate of the permanent collective where people work together for many years. But the point is that time, as I have already said, is rushing by, and a rather strange time has come in theatrical art. B. Rozov once said that there used to be a "time of associations" in theatrical art but now a time of "dissociations" has come, perhaps not for long, but it has come nevertheless. Even so, it is by no means compulsory to cling to yesterday's habitual organizational framework. Perhaps new, unexpected associations must be found. Sometimes a longstanding community turns into its opposite.

When they first assemble, creative people think of their lofty aims, analyze the general artistic situation, want to find something to counter routine, or develop what seems to them to be progressive. They feel themselves to be fighters and the community of which they are members is dear to them. They are participants (at any rate so it seems to them) in some important experiment. People set themselves a goal which at that moment in their lives seems remote, outside the narrow walls of the theater itself. The work which they do is designed not for themselves but for those who will see their works. The actors and producers in this period are audacious and argumentative, they are inspired by a fresh idea which perturbs them.

Many people can continue their lives in just this way. There are creative workers who retain deep into old age the secret of artistic innovation, but unfortunately the process of the aging of one person and of a whole collective is largely inevitable, people cease to feel the real, veritable task, they do not struggle for something serious, and if they do fight then it is rather against each other. No one except themselves is involved in their war. Sometimes it seems that many of them even stop wanting to work properly. They complain of being underemployed, but when they are employed they perform their work lazily. They give scant thought to the play in front of them. Sometimes they engage in some side interest, but also in a somewhat desultory manner. They come and go . . . They flaunt their alleged victories somewhere on the sidelines to each other. Their work proceeds sporadically and "on impulse."

Many of them are reluctant to make a serious effort shed old, no longer necessary habits, and are reluctant to change. They lose the ability to concentrate to the maximum. And so on and so forth.

All because any serious goal has been lost, because they have grown too accustomed to each other and have adapted. Their own position -- bad or good -- has become more important than any higher goal. Their criterion has become a "domestic" one somewhere in the corridor of their own theater.

We frequently do not even realize how much we lose through lack of order, inner indiscipline, and inadequate professionalism. Through being unable to look at our work from a distance, FROM OUTSIDE and through being unable to compare it with anything which could serve as a guideline and example.

The criteria of the old Moscow Academy Arts Theater were extraordinarily high. If this "shoe" of demands were to be placed on today's "foot," we would be simply horrified, because our size in demands has grown smaller.

Sometimes it seems that it would be expedient to assemble performers from different places to form perhaps temporary but effective unanimity. Take A. Demidova from the Taganka, O. Yakovleva from the Bronnaya, M. Neyelova from the "Sovremennik," and N. Drobysheva from the Moscow Soviet Theater and put them in, for instance, a play by Williams for four women. There is a fine play by Williams of this kind. Such equally matched actresses could perhaps not be found in a single theater. Why not make a fine experiment? After all, we are working for the public, not for internal theatrical consumption. But in actual fact we often do concern ourselves with internal theatrical tasks. We keep resolving these tasks as unskillfully as schoolboys, and art passes us by.

I. Dvoretskiy has written a play. It is about the theater. In it one of the heroes says: "Our great temple has long been enclosed in our own egotism. Internal processes . . . become more important to us than the result."

Long ago it was N. Pogodin again who, in the journal he controlled, scolded his colleagues for their so-called "cliquishness" ["mezhdusoboychik"]. Working together for many years, these people in his opinion has lost their guidelines. They praised or cursed each other without considering the objective course of things. A unique kind of "red tape" often forms in theaters. Business proceeds, the office writes, but there are no good shows! What is on paper starts to seem more important than what is done on stage. So the stage becomes as boring and dusty as the office.

No. We need to create, in the organizational and creative sense, unexpected combinations -- that is in fact the simple idea I wanted somehow to express.

COMPLEMENTARY ROLE OF PARTY, STATE ORGANS STRESSED

PM301543 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 84 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Organs of Political Leadership"]

[Excerpts] The successful implementation of the tasks facing the country is directly dependent on how party committees act and how they organize and direct the energy of the masses. The concerns of every party raykom or gorkom, obkom or kraykom are multifaceted. But the most important thing is to ensure the strict implementation of the CPSU line and the fulfillment of Central Committee decisions and to set the tone everywhere and in everything. The further improvement of the style and methods of party leadership is of special significance here.

"In their work, party committees are obliged to proceed from the premise that they represent political organs and use political means," Comrade K.U. Chernenko said at the meeting with workers of the party Central Committee apparatus. "They organize the fulfillment of tasks not apart from economic and soviet organs, but through them."

One of the important questions discussed at the CPSU Central Committee Extraordinary February (1984) Plenum was the clear delimitation of the functions of party committees with tasks of state and economic organs and the elimination of duplication in their work. This, as was pointed out, is a big question of political significance. With what is its acute formulation linked? The point is that still not everything has been properly organized everywhere here.

There are frequent instances in everyday practice where workers of soviets, ministries, and enterprises, failing to display proper independence, shift onto party organs questions which they are obliged to resolve themselves. Here is an instance aired on the rostrum of the recent Penza CPSU Obkom plenum. Last year the party obkom received 1,270 letters and telegrams on current economic questions and just 22 documents relating to questions relating to questions of organizational and educational work. Of course, this an irregular ratio. It shifts the considerable efforts of the party apparatus into what the economic organs should tackle and leads to interference in their administrative and managerial activity. This substitution damps the ardor of cadres. Furthermore, it was stated at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum that it harbors the danger of weakening the party committee's role as an organ of political leadership.

There cannot be the slightest stagnation in the improvement of party work. In undertaking each new task, party committee workers must always turn to Lenin's behests, unswervingly follow Lenin's style, and actively assert it. Instances of paper generation, enthusiasm for holding meetings of various kinds, and manifestations of narrow departmentalism are incompatible with this. The struggle against such shortcomings has been significantly intensified, but much still remains to be done to finally eradicate them.

The activity of every party committee must be based on an in-depth analysis of the trends of economic and cultural building. It is very important to perceive these trends keenly and in good time and to submit well conceived proposals and practical recommendations aimed at successfully resolving fundamental problems of strategic significance. This is an inalienable aspect of political leadership, whose role is increasing together with the growth of our tasks.

The party is increasingly orienting its committees toward organizing the fulfillment of adopted decisions and toward monitoring and verifying execution. What is needed here is a high degree of exactingness, a principled approach, an all-around assessment of leaders, and strict demands on them, particularly on those who wreck the fulfillment of set targets. Emphasis should be placed on lively organizational work and on personal checking of the local situation.

BOOK CONTRASTS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS IN USSR, WEST

PM020931 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 84 Morning Edition p 3

[Book review by Candidate of Juridical Sciences M Polupanov under rubric "Bookshelf": "The Individual Under Socialism"]

[Text] The problem of the individual has always been a central one in philosophy, sociology, psychology, ethics, and the other social sciences. Today we draw your attention to the new book by V.Ye.Guliyev and F.M. Rudinskiy published by the Nauka Publishing House (Footnote) (V.Ye.Guliyev, F.M. Rudinskiy: "Democracy and Individual Dignity" [Demokratiya i Dostoinstvo Lichnosti], Nauka Publishing House, Moscow 1983). Its authors deal with the problems of democracy, humanism, and human dignity.

One of the main characteristics of mature socialism is the fullest possible disclosure of the genuinely humanist essence of socialist democracy, which ensures the free, all-round development of the individual. Bourgeois "Sovietologists" attempt to prove the unprovable -- the myth about human rights violations in the USSR. It was no accident that the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum pointed to the need to propagandize the achievements of socialist democracy more extensively in sociologists' work and to show more vividly the Soviet people's real political rights and freedoms.

The book devotes great attention to an analysis of concepts such as the individual's honor and dignity. The authors reveal the genuine essence of bourgeois democracy, describing it as a profaned ideal of the rights of man and the freedom of the individual.

The authors contrast the pseudofreedoms of man in bourgeois society with numerous examples of genuine respect for the individual, the reality of his constitutional rights and guarantees, and his honor and dignity under conditions of a socialist society. The book will undoubtedly be a great help to teachers of the social disciplines, lecturers, agitation workers, progagandists, and all who are interested in the problems of democracy, the state, and law.

FAMILY ASKS WEST'S HELP FOR LITHUANIAN ACTIVIST

LD301656 Vatican City International Service in German 1400 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Lithuania -- The relatives of Lithuanian civil rights activist Viktoras Petkus, who has been in prison since 1978, have appealed to the West to help him. The family has heard nothing from Viktoras Petkus for 6 months. The civil rights activist, who is now 54 years old, founded the Lithuanian Helsinki group, whose goal it was to document violations of the Helsinki Final Act by the Soviet Government. Petkus, who was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in 1978, had to undergo a very serious cancer operation last year at a camp known to have a particularly severe regime. The usually biannual permission to visit has been withheld from Petkus' family for some time. The family now hopes for support from the International Red Cross.

AUCCTU CHAIRMAN SHALEYEV ADDRESSES PLENUM

LD232047 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Mar 84

[Text] An AUCCTU plenum today discussed tasks stemming from the decisions of the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the points and conclusions contained in the speeches of Comrade Chernenko at this plenum and to voters. A report was delivered by Comrade Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman. The principal areas of trade union organization activity in implementing the party's plans were determined. It was stressed that the most urgent tasks are to ensure the implicit fulfillment of the directives of the December CPSU Central Committee Plenum and to successfully implement the plans for the country's socioeconomic development for 1984.

BRIEFS

METRO WORKERS HONORED -- Orders and medals of the USSR have been awarded to workers by the USSR Supreme Soviet for successes achieved in construction of the Serpukhovskiy radial line of the Moscow metro. [Summary] [Moscow Domestic Service In Russian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 84 LD]

TASS REPORTS FINAL PREPARATIONS FOR JOINT LAUNCH

Final Countdown Started

LD011430 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] Baykonur cosmodrome April 1 TASS -- By TASS special correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov.

A booster rocket with the craft Soyuz T-11, which will blast off towards the Salyut-7 space station on April 3 with a Soviet-Indian crew, was brought to a launch-pad this early morning. The movement of the snow white rocket, supervised by cosmodrome test people, was watched by Soviet and Indian journalists, and representatives of the Intercosmos Council at the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

"The final countdown for the 11th international mission to be launched into space from Baykonur cosmodrome has been started," said the deputy head of the cosmonauts' training centre, Aleksey Leonov.

Both crews, comprising six cosmonauts Yuriy Malyshev, Gennadiy Strekalov, Rakesh Sharma, Anatoliy Berezovoy, Georgiy Grechko and Ravish Malhotra, have completed a pre-flight examination of the craft. Engineers, preparing the Soyuz T-11 for its mission, took into account all, however slight, remarks made by the crewmen.

A warm atmosphere of friendship and cordial partnership is reigning at the Kosmonavt Hotel where both Soviet-Indian crews are spending their final days before the flight. The crew commanders Yariy Malyshev and Anatoliy Berezovoy are using every free hour to work on an electronic linkup simulator. Flight engineers Gennadiy Strekalov and Georgiy Grechko, cosmonauts researchers Rakesh Sharma and Ravish Malhotra are spending much time with Soviet and Indian specialists who have prepared the research programme of the flight. They are specifying details, discussing possible variants of individual experiments.

"We are glad," said Rakesh Sharma, "that the start is scheduled for the springtime, the first days of April, the space, [as received] Gagarin's month."

Launch, Docking Times Given

LD301624 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS -- The space flight by the international Soviet-Indian crew is scheduled for April 3, 17:08 Moscow time, Soviet and foreign newsmen were told at a press conference held in the Soviet capital today.

The first crew comprises Yuriy Malyshev, Gennadiy Strekalov and Indian cosmonaut researcher Rakesh Sharma. The second crew includes Anatoliy Berezovoy, Georgiy Grechko and Indian cosmonaut researcher Ravish Malhotra. The final choice will be made at Baykonur cosmodrome.

It was announced at the press conference that the docking with the orbital complex is scheduled for April 4, 18:35 Moscow time. The mission will last till April 11. The estimated time of the landing of the international crew is 14:50 Moscow time. The landing will take place 60 kilometres to the southwest of the city of Arkalyk in Soviet Kazakhstan.

Soyuz-Delhi Link Established

LD301941 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 30 Mar 84

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS -- For the first time a communication bridge via space will be established between the "Salyut-7" and the Indian capital during the joint international Soviet-Indian space flight whose start is scheduled for April 3. This was reported at a news conference here today by Deputy Flight Director Viktor Blagov. The Cosmos-to-Delhi "telebridge" will be established on April 5. Taking part in a direct broadcast will be members of the international space crew and the leaders of the Indian Government. The checking of the communication line was completed today, and it went through normally, Viktor Blagov said.

He informed that at present the orbit of the "Salyut-7" station is being corrected and prepared for docking with the "Soyuz T-11" space vehicle which will take the joint Soviet-Indian crew to the station in space.

During a seven days mission in orbit they will carry out a number of fundamental technological, natural, and medico-biological experiments. This is preceded by extensive joint work by scientists of the two countries who have developed specialised equipment for the scientific experiments.

One major component of their assignment will be the study of the earth and the Indian Ocean from space. Aleksandr Koval, who is in charge of this programme baptised as "Terra", said that the information to be obtained will be used for the needs of the dynamically developing economy of India. The crew will identify structures holding out the promise of oil and gas and other mineral deposits. The joint crew will study the difficult-of-access areas of the Himalayas and Karakorum.

The photosurveying material to be relayed from space will be helpful in charting maps for land utilisation and control over the state of the coastal zone, in cartographical work, oceanographic studies, as well as in the study of the condition of the forests, internal water bodies, farming crops, and environment.

With regard to the programme for the study of materials in space, it was reported at the press conference that during the flight the cosmonauts will carry out the three experiments with alloys of different compositions. The results to be obtained will, in the opinion of specialists, be of big significance for practical work in obtaining the most diverse alloys used in modern engineering. The principal task of the experiments is to obtain especially homogenous combinations and to study processes at work at the borderline dividing the liquid and solid state.

The medical part of the programme includes holding six joint Soviet-Indian experiments. To reduce the impact of undesirable factors of weightlessness on human organism -- is the task set by the Indian specialists who have included "yoga" exercises in the programme. With the Indian cosmonaut doing such exercises, study will be made of the activity of the body's muscles. This will, according to scientists, add to the knowledge on the impact of weightlessness on the locomotor system, and help to improve the means of prophylactics.

In answers to newsmen's questions on the diet of the international space crew it was said that the ordinary space diet will be complemented with a set of Indian food products: pineapple and mango juice, "crisp" bananas, and mango fruit bars.

ORBITAL COMPLEX PREPARES FOR INDIAN MISSION

Friendship-19 Undocked

LD311329 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 31 Mar 84

[Text] Cosmonauts Kizim, Solovyev and Atkov are having a working day today, carrying out their labor watch in orbit.

Flight Control Center has announced that after completion of the joint flight program today, the automatic transport craft Progress-19 was separated from the Salyut-7-Soyuz-T-10 orbital complex. The process of undocking and departure of the cargo craft was controlled by specialists at the Flight Control Center and by the crew.

Observation, Tests Continue

LD010638 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] The crew of the Salyut-7-Soyuz-T-10 manned complex are in the 54th day of their space flight. Yesterday, several medical experiments were carried out and preventive work was done on the station's heat regulatory system. The cosmonauts carried out observation of individual area of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The flight of the Progress-19 automatic transport craft, which was yesterday undocked from the orbital complex on completion of the joint flight program, is continuing. Leonid Kizim, Vladimir Solovyev and Oleg Atkov are feeling well.

They have started preparations for receiving in cosmic orbit the visiting expedition, the crew of which includes an Indian cosmonaut. Our special correspondent reports from Baykonur cosmodrome that the rocket and ship have just been taken from the assembly and test bloc to the launch site. The assembly workers are now completing its installation and connecting various communications facilities through which the fueling of the rocket and the testing of its systems will be carried out. The day's timetable for the Soviet-Indian crews -- the main one and the backup -- includes preparations for upcoming medical experiments and training which should help them to adapt more quickly to weightlessness. The launch is fixed for 3 April.

AIR FORCE CHIEF AT MILITARY WRITING MEETING

PM290838 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Mar 84 Second Edition p 3

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report under general heading: "Greeting the 40th Anniversary of Victory"]

[Text] Being a loyal assistant to the party in educating the working people and above all the younger generation in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism, and readiness to come to the defense of the gains of socialism -- that is where writers and journalists working in the field of heroic-patriotic subject matter see their supreme duty. This was stated at a meeting organized by the Air Force Military Council and Political Directorate in Moscow 27 March. There was a discussion of questions of stepping up the airmen's heroic-patriotic education in connection with the imminent 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The speakers -- Chief Marshal of Aviation P.S. Kutakhov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister; Lieutenant General of Aviation L.L. Batekhin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Air Force; USSR Writers Union Board Secretaries Yu.N. Verchenko and V.V. Karpov; and journalist V.P. Goltsev -- noted that the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums have opened up before writers and journalists new prospects for creating works of high ideological content on heroic-patriotic themes.

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN MILITARY DISCUSSED

PM290806 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 27 March in its Second Edition front-pages a 1,200-word editorial under the heading "Serviceman's Spiritual Maturity."

Quoting Chernenko's election address comments on the importance of ideological work, the editorial says:

"This proposition serves for commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations as a guide to action in improving ideological and political education work in units, on ships, and in military training establishments. In the present acute international situation, marked by a sharp aggravation of the aggressiveness of extreme reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism, Army and Navy servicemen are resolving great and complex tasks in defending the gains of socialism and ensuring the reliable security of the Soviet land and its allies. And the higher their degree of political and ideological-moral maturity, the more fully they are aware of the responsibility placed in them for maintaining their combat skill and combat readiness at the level of present requirements and the better they fulfill, and to a better standard, the duties imposed on them. That is why ideological and political education work is being increasingly advanced to the fore in the multifaceted activity of commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations. Here the ideological and moral tempering of officers, who comprise the foundation, the backbone, of the Soviet Armed Forces, deserves special attention."

Noting the importance of officers' Marxist-Leninist education, the editorial continues:

"Knowledge obtained is alwasy valuable, but a man's convictions, his spiritual world, his specific deeds aimed at achieving the lofty, noble goals set by the party are particularly valuable.

"The spiritual world of the serviceman with a socialist education is a fusion of great ideas and powerful feelings connected with the interests of the subunit or unit collective and with the tasks facing the Armed Forces in the reliable defense of the Soviet people's peaceful, constructive labor. His ideological and moral maturity is manifested in his active civic stance, patriotism, and internationalism, in unity of word and deed, in his critical attitude toward his own activity and that of his comrades, in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and views and morals alien to us, in his intolerance and scorn for all types of idleness, disorder, irresponsibility, and indifference, and in his high vigilance and combat readiness."

The final part of the editorial discusses methods of officers' political, ideological, and theoretical education, including the problem-oriented method of instruction, and notes the importance of creating a suitable "ideological and moral atmosphere" in military collectives.

USTINOV ORDER ON MILITARY DISCHARGES, NEW DRAFT

PM300920 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 84 First Edition p 1

["USSR Defense Minister Order No 63. Moscow, 29 March 1984" -- PRAVDA headline]

[Text] On the discharge from active military service and transfer to the next draft of citizens for active military service.

In accordance with the USSR Law "On Universal Military Service" I order:

1. That conscripts whose period of active military service expires before 1 July 1984 be discharged from the ranks of the Soviet Army, Navy, and Border and Internal Troops and transferred to the reserve in April-June 1984.

2. That in connection with the discharge and transfer to the reserve of military servicemen in accordance with point 1 of the present order, citizens aged 18 on draft day who are not entitled to draft deferment and citizens above the draft age whose period of deferment has elapsed be drafted for active military service in the Soviet Army, Navy, and Border and Internal Forces.

3. That this order be posted in all companies, batteries, squadrons, and on ships.

Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, USSR defense minister

Army Paper Comments

PM301502 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 30 March in its Second Edition carries on the front page a 1,200-word editorial headlined "Under Glory-Covered Banners," related to the upcoming draft of young people into the Army. The editorial notes that the draftees are well prepared for Army service, and emphasizes the importance of carrying out the draft "in an organized manner," and of making sure that the draftees have everything they need when they are seen off from their homes. The send-off ceremonies should "serve to mobilize draftees to the worthy fulfillment of their patriotic and international duty," the editorial asserts, concluding that "the young reinforcement is joining the Army and Navy at a time when the international situation has been gravely aggravated through the fault of U.S. imperialism. This requires enhanced vigilance and combat readiness from Soviet servicemen."

MILITARY DEFENSE, PEACE EFFORTS, READINESS CITED

PM301314 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Mar 84 Second Edition pp 2-3

[Article by Major General Prof. A. Milovidov, doctor of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "Defense of Socialism: Theory and Practice": "With Consideration for the Increased Danger of War"]

[Text] Mankind is living through what is very probably the most perturbing period in its history. This period has been marked by a sharp activiation of the policy of the most aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism -- the policy of overt militarism, claims to world domination, resistance to progress, and violation of the people's rights and freedom. This policy is fraught with the most dangerous consequences.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state, the CPSU Central Committee February (1984) Extraordinary Plenum noted, can clearly see the threat created today to man by the rash, adventurist actions of the aggressive forces of imperialism. They can see it -- and they say so out loud, drawing the attention of the peoples of the whole world to this danger.

At the same time the Soviet Union is obliged to do everything for the further consolidation of its defense capability and of its armed forces and to respond to the aggressive actions of imperialism with deterrent measures. That is what has conditioned the Soviet leadership's decisions in connection with the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in West Europe.

These considered measures, like everything our party does in the defense sphere, fully accord with Lenin's teaching on the defense of the socialist fatherland. A strictly scientific, integral system of views, Lenin's teaching on the defense of the socialist fatherland has been and remains the ideological-theoretical basis of Soviet military construction.

Marxist-Leninist theory, being a creative, developing theory, is constantly being enriched with new historical experience and is characterized by a profound, precise assessment of specific historical realities. Fully armed with this theory, our party is resolving problems of the defense of peace and the gains of socialism with a consideration for the present stage of the contemporary epoch. It attaches paramount importance to the in-depth analysis of the international situation which is taking shape and of the trends of its development, the forces operating in the world arena, and their class nature and correlation, and the policies they pursue. Constant attention is also paid to the study of the level and developmental trend of military matters themselves and of the means, forms, and methods of armed struggle.

The present international situation and the trends in its development are evidence that the sharply increased aggressiveness of imperialism, and primarily U.S. imperialism, is not conditioned by fortuitous factors but is the expression and result of the antipopular policy pursued by its most reactionary circles. Imperialism reacts with the frenzied unleashing of military preparations to its defeats in social battles, to the loss of its colonial possessions, the deviation of more and more countries away from capitalism, and to the successes of the communist and workers' movement and of world socialism.

The intensification of the overall crisis of capitalism is lending an increasingly adventurist and dangerous nature to the imperalist forces' policy, revealing the obvious fact that imperialism has been and remains the prime cause, the source of wars.

Of course, this by no means signifies the fatal inevitability of a new world war. The principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems retain all their importance. Moreover, now, in the age of nuclear weapons and superaccurate missiles, this principle is more essential to the peoples than ever. Unfortunately, as Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has noted, to all appearances some leaders of capitalist countries do not realize or are reluctant to realize this clearly.

Imperialism is afraid of peaceful coexistence and competition with real socialism. The West German philosopher U. Schlamm made a highly frank admission on this score: "The monstrous essence of the conflict between communism and the West is a sinister one and consists in the fact that communism flourishes under conditions of peace, wants peace, and triumphs in peace. The West, if it wants to avoid perishing, must be pervaded with a terrible determination to wage war."

A natural law of history is indeed repeating itself: When the soil quakes under the capitalists' feet, they take up arms.

The growth of the danger of war is conditioned also by a seemingly secondary cause. To wit: by virtue of the essentially undemocratic mechanism by which the political leadership in the United States is formed, people incapable of realistically considering the situation in the international situation have ended up in the leadership. In the service of the bigwigs of American business and of military-industrial complex, the U.S. Government wholly serves their interests and in the world arena it pursues their reactionary foreign policy course which is fraught with dangerous consequences for all mankind.

The present U.S. Administration is adding story after story to the militarist skyscraper. The President declared a "crusade" against socialism as a social system. With a view to breaking the military-strategic equilibrium prevailing in the world, an unprecedented arms race is being undertaken and nuclear missiles are being deployed in West Europe. Aggressive new "axes" and "triangles" are being cobbled together. U.S. Marines are being moved from one country to another, flouting those countries' sovereign rights, and are being concentrated close to countries with regimes inconvenient to imperialism. The occupation of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, the acts of provocation against other countries, the militarist activeness in the Indian Ocean region, the course toward the militarization of space -- these are all specific manifestations of the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism -- a policy of resistance to progress, violation of rights, and flouting of the peoples' freedom.

As we can see, the U.S. Administration, in international relations, is impudently crossing the "threshold" of what is permitted from the viewpoint even of the elementary norms of law and morality. And it is no accident that Washington is making active attempts to "ennoble" and vindicate these illegal actions. The occupation of Grenada is assessed here as a series of actions in "defense of democracy" and the decisions taken by the FRG, British, and Italian Governments to install U.S. missiles is viewed as nothing other than a "victory." But it is a Pyrrhic victory. Every new system of weapons, every new U.S. missile in a European NATO country is a direct loss for Western security. It is not Europe's security which is growing but the real danger that the United States will bring down a catastrophe on the peoples of this continent.

The Soviet Union has never wanted and does not want such a turn of events. But it has been obliged to respond with appropriate measures to the hostile action undertaken against it. By agreement with the GDR and CSSR Governments, operational-tactical missiles of increased range have been deployed on the territory of these countries.

Subsequently, inasmuch as by the deployment of its missiles in Europe the United States is increasing the nuclear threat to the USSR, appropriate Soviet weapons will be deployed in ocean regions and seas, taking this circumstance into account. These weapons of ours, in terms of their characteristics, will be adequate for the threat created to us and our allies by the U.S. missiles deployed in Europe. Other measures will also be taken, aimed at safeguarding the security of the USSR and the other socialist community countries.

The deployment of the U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe is called in the West, not without justification, a "pitfall." Bearing this in mind, former British Defense Secretary Denis Healy noted satirically: "If you've already fallen into a pit, stop digging." However, the nuclear maniacs are continuing not only to stand in this pit but also to deepen it.

The militarist preparations are a continuation of the imperialist circles' class-based antipopular policy in the international arena. Indeed, war itself, if the imperialists, counter to reason, do unleash it, will be nothing but a continuation of their policy by violent means.

This proposition of Lenin's is fundamental in assessing war. However, the general does not exist except in the particular, distinct, and specific. Marxism-Leninism directs us toward a creative analysis of the features of the correlation between war and policy in the light of new realities.

One of these features is the increasing rapprochement between military-strategic concepts and the policy of imperialism, expressed in U.S. military doctrine. While U.S. imperialism's political designs are expressed with the greatest cynicism in far-reaching hegemonistic imperial ambitions, its military-strategic concepts are aimed at establishing systems which suit the U.S. ruling circles. True, these aspirations have been displayed by U.S. imperialism in the past. What is fundamentally new is the potential military and political consequences with which the transatlantic politicians' course is fraught in the nuclear age.

The second feature is characterized, in the present correlation of forces in the international rena, by the impossibility for the aggressor of achieving his global political aims by unleashing nuclear war, because such a war would be a catastrophe for mankind.

However, it is clear from reports from Washington that the U.S. ruling circles and their administration are not abandoning the concept which allows the possibility of waging nuclear war. On the contrary, they have gambled on nuclear weapons as one of the main means of achieving their hegemonistic imperial goals. But this position is rash, just as the doctrine of "direct confrontation" adopted by Washington, with its variations of horizontal and vertical escalation and the United States' unrestricted freedom to choose the ways and means of combat and the moment for delivering a so-called "preemptive strike," is an insane doctrine.

The strategic concepts of forces and permissiveness are shortsighted. At the same time they are extremely dangerous, because U.S. and NATO adventurism relies on material facilities which no war machine has possessed in the past. Let's turn to the United States. New systems of strategic offensive forces are being rapidly developed and deployed here: the MX and Midgetman ICHM's, nuclear-powered submarines carrying Trident missiles, B-1B and Stealth strategic bombers, and air-launched, sea-launched, and ground-launched cruise missiles. New highly accurate conventional weapons systems are also being created.

The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to divert the threat of nuclear war from the peoples and to halt the forces of militarism. This goal is also objectively served by the measures the USSR is taking to strengthen its defense capability and defend socialism. "...We will continue," Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee February (1984) Extraordinary Plenum, "to be concerned to strengthen our country's defense capability so that we have sufficient means with which to cool the hotheads of the bellicose adventurists." The party sees in this a very important condition for preserving peace.

This line is also embodied in Soviet military doctrine. Its political and military-technical content stems from the objective need to defend the socialist fatherland. In terms of its political premises our doctrine is of a defensive nature. It is geared exclusively to repelling an outside threat. But it will not be passive. In the event of aggression our Armed Forces, in conjunction with the fraternal socialist armies, will defend their revolutionary gains without any fluctuations and with all determination using their states' entire defensive and economic might.

A correct understanding of the nature of modern war in defense of the gains of socialism is a question not only of great theoretical importance but also of tremendous practical importance. The more serious the threat to the security of our country and its friends and allies, the higher the defense capability of the socialist motherland and the Warsaw Pact states should be.

Hence the priority tasks of enhancing the Soviet Armed Forces' combat might and combat capability. The provision of modern weapons and combat equipment for the troops and naval forces, the maintenance of the personnel's high moral and political state, and the vigorous improvement of the field, air, and sea training of the formations, units, and ships -- all these complex and vast problems must be resolved and are now being resolved with a consideration for the increased danger of war from imperialism.

The sharp aggravation of the international situation which it has generated is making the highest demands on the Soviet Armed Forces' level of combat readiness. First, in connection with the possibility of a surprise attack by an enemy equipped with nuclear missile weapons deployed, as they say, at the threshold of the socialist community states, there has been a fundamental change in the temporal limits of combat readiness. The high level of combat readiness which is essential for the fullest realization of combat potential as rapidly as possible has essentially become the permanent condition of the Army and Navy.

Second, the exceptionally tough demands regarding combat readiness are dictated by the virtually unlimited range of strategic nuclear missile weapons. That is why not only the troops in the immediate vicinity of the border (as was the case in the recent past) but also the entire Armed Forces and all military control systems must be in a state of high combat readiness today.

Not as potential in a hypothetical sense but as real, dynamic forces which manifest themselves in practice during sea cruises, flights, tours of combat duty, and military exercises and maneuvers, in a situation approximating a real combat situation as far as possible -- that is how the real combat might and real combat readiness of the Army and Navy are expressed today. "It is essential," Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, USSR defense minister, has stressed, "that the impact of the surprise factor should be minimized, that the aggressor should not be tempted to think he can make first use of nuclear weapons with impunity.

The supreme combat readiness of all braches and categories of the Soviet Armed Forces and the excellent combat training and martial skill of each serviceman are the guarantee of our motherland's security and the reliable defense of all socialist community countries."

The Soviet Armed Forces' political command and engineering and technical personnel are constantly working to raise combat readiness. Right now this activity is being structured with a consideration for the aggressive aspirations of the United States which have been embodied in particular in the deployment of the U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. The persistent martial labor of the military cadres and entire Army and Navy personnel is forging the high combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces -- a powerful factor in restraining imperialism's aggressive aspirations.

The leaders of our party and state have frequently said that the Soviet Union will never be the first to use nuclear weapons or military force. At the same time they have warned quite specifically that the Soviet state's strategic forces are in a supreme state of readiness to deal a resolute rebuff to any aggressor. There is no "preemptive strike" with which the transatlantic strategists can prevent a totally overwhelming retaliatory strike. Nothing will save the aggressor from retribution if he makes first use of nuclear weapons against the USSR and its allies.